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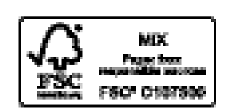
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Siglenverzeichnis

ACO	Acta Conciliorum Oecumenicorum
ADSV	Antičnaja drevnost' i srednie veka
AJA	American Journal of Archaeology
AHC	Annuarium Historiae Conciliorum
APF	Archiv für Papyrusforschung und verwandte Gebiete
BBA	Berliner Byzantinistische Arbeiten
BCH	Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique
BF	Byzantinische Forschungen
BHG	Bibliotheca Hagiographica Graeca
BIFAO	Bulletin de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale (Cairo)
BKV	Bibliothek der Kirchenväter
BMGS	Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies
BNJ	Byzantinisch-Neugriechische Jahrbücher
BollGrott	Bollettino della Badia Greca di Grottaferrata
BSFN	Bulletin de la Sociéte française de numismatique
BV	Byzantina Vindobonensia
Byz	Byzantion
BZ	Byzantinische Zeitschrift
CCSG	Corpus Christianorum Series Graeca
CFHB	Corpus Fontium Historiae Byzantinae
CIC	Corpus Iuris Civilis
CIG	Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum
CIL	Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum
CSEL	Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum
CSHB	Corpus Scriptorum Historiae Byzantinae
DA	Deutsches Archiv für die Erforschung des Mittelalters
DACL	Dictionnaire d'Archéologie Chrétienne et de Liturgie
DHGE	Dictionnaire d'histoire et de géographie ecclésiastiques
DOP	Dumbarton Oaks Papers
DOS	Dumbarton Oaks Studies
DOT	Dumbarton Oaks Texts
EB	Études Balkaniques
EEBS	Ἐπετηρὶς Ἑταιρείας Βυζαντινῶν Σπουδῶν
EO	Échos d'Orient
FGH	Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker
FIFAO	Fouilles de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale (Cairo)
GCS	Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller
GRBS	Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies
HZ	Historische Zeitschrift
IG	Inscriptiones Graecae
JARCE	Journal of the American Research Center Egypt
JbAC	Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum
JECS	Journal of Early Christian Studies
JHS	Journal of Hellenic Studies
JJurP	Journal of Juristic Papyrology
JÖB	Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik

JÖBG	Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinischen Gesellschaft
JRA	Journal of Roman Archaeology
JRS	Journal of Roman Studies
LMA	Lexikon des Mittelalters
LThK	Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche
MDAIK	Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Institutes Kairo
MGH	Monumenta Germaniae Historica
MIÖG	Mitteilungen des Instituts für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung
MMB	Monumenta Musicae Byzantinae
OC	Orientalia Christiana
OCA	Orientalia Christiana Analecta
OCP	Orientalia Christiana Periodica
OrChrist	Oriens Christianus
PG	Patrologia Graeca
PL	Patrologia Latina
PLP	Prosopographisches Lexikon der Palaiologenzeit
PmbZ	Prosopographie der mittelbyzantinischen Zeit
PO	Patrologia Orientalis
PTS	Patristische Texte und Studien
RAC	Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum
RbK	Reallexikon zur byzantinischen Kunst
RE	Paulys Realencyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft
RÉArm	Revue des Études Arméniennes
RÉB	Revue des Études Byzantines
RÉG	Revue des Études Grecques
RÉSEE	Revue des Études Sud-Est-Européennes
RHT	Revue d’histoire des textes
RIDA	Revue internationale des droits de l’antiquité
ROC	Revue de l’Orient Chrétien
RömQ	Römische Quartalsschrift
RSBN	Rivista di Studi Bizantini e Neoellenici
SBN	Studi Bizantini e Neoellenici
SBS	Studies in Byzantine Sigillography
SC	Sources Chrétiennes
Script	Scriptorium
TIB	Tabula Imperii Byzantini
TM	Travaux et Mémoires
TRE	Theologische Realenzyklopädie
TU	Texte und Untersuchungen
VigChr	Vigiliae Christianae
VV	Vizantijskij Vremennik
WBS	Wiener Byzantinistische Studien
WSt	Wiener Studien
ZAC	Zeitschrift für Antikes Christentum
ZKG	Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte
ZPE	Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik
ZRVI	Zbornik Radova Vizantološkog Instituta

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I. Abteilung

Raphael Brendel

Kaiser Julians Heerespolitik und das Mönchtum

Überlegungen zu einer wenig bekannten Behauptung Gregors des Großen (ep. 3, 61 und 3, 64)

Abstract: The information in letters 3.61 and 3.64 of Pope Gregory the Great that Emperor Julian had released a law, according to which soldiers were not allowed to become monks, is a confusion with Valens who is accredited to have forced the monks by law to do military service. This hypothesis is based on the church historians' reports that Julian wanted to remove the Christians from his army by conversion and dismissal, and on the fact that Julian and Valens are parallelised by Theophanes and other Byzantine texts.

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Die nachfolgenden Überlegungen haben sich aus der Beschäftigung mit der Gesetzgebung Julians und deren Nachleben im Rahmen meiner Dissertation ergeben: Raphael Brendel, Kaiser Julians Gesetzgebungswerk und Reichsverwaltung, Hamburg 2017 (Diss. München 2013/14), dort kurz 182 Anm. 621 zu den diskutierten Passagen. Für Hinweise und Anregungen danke ich Hans Carel Teitler (München) sowie den anonymen Gutachtern der *Byzantinischen Zeitschrift*.

Das Problem

Ein Brief Gregors des Großen (3,64) an den Arzt Theodoros enthält folgende Angabe:[1]

> *(6) Praecepit enim, ut nullus qui actionem publicam egit, nullus qui optio vel manu signatus vel inter milites fuit habitus, ei in monasterio converti liceat, nisi forte si militia eius fuerit expleta. (7) Quam legem primum, sicuti dicunt qui leges veteres noverunt, Iulianus protulit, de quo scimus omnes, quantum Deo adversus fuit.*
>
> (6) Er [= Maurikios] schreibt nämlich vor, dass es keinem, der eine öffentliche Tätigkeit betrieben hat und keinem, der entweder Optio oder an der Hand gezeichnet oder inmitten der Soldaten befindlich war, erlaubt sei, in ein Kloster einzutreten, wenn nicht dessen Dienstverpflichtung vollständig abgeleistet wurde. (7) Ein derartiges Gesetz hat zuerst, so wie diejenigen versichern, welche die alten Gesetze kennen, Julian erlassen, von dem wir alle wissen, wie sehr er gegen Gott eingestellt war.

In dem Brief an Kaiser Maurikios (regierte 582–602) zu demselben Thema (3,61) heißt es:

> *(24) Requirat rogo dominus meus, quis prior imperator talem legem dederit, et subtilius aestimet, si debuit dari.*
>
> (24) Mein Herr forsche nach, bitte ich, welcher frühere Kaiser ein derartiges Gesetz erlassen hat, und wäge gründlich ab, ob es notwendig war, es zu erlassen.

Weder die Gesetzescodices noch die christlichen Schriftsteller, die keineswegs zurückhaltend darin sind, die angeblichen Abgründe der julianischen Herrschaft zu schildern, kennen ein solches Gesetz Julians. Auch in der Julianforschung – zumal den Spezialstudien zur Gesetzgebung Julians – wird diese Stelle nicht herangezogen; nicht einmal, um sie als Erfindung eines späteren Autors im Dienste seiner Argumentation gegen ein ungeliebtes kaiserliches Gesetz zu erweisen.[2]

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1 Der Text der vier für diese Ausführungen relevanten Briefe Gregors ist mit meiner deutschen Übersetzung und weiteren Literaturhinweisen als Anhang beigegeben. Hier gebotene Verweise auf die Briefe erfolgen nach der im Dienste der besseren Übersichtlichkeit ergänzten zusätzlichen Paragraphenzählung.

2 Auch die Forschungen zu Gregor und seinen Briefen erweisen sich als unergiebig, da sie sich darin erschöpfen, darauf hinzuweisen, dass ein solches Gesetz Julians nur an den zitierten Stellen belegt ist. Lediglich für das Gesetz des Maurikios sind die entsprechenden Studien von Interesse.

Man könnte nun diese Angaben mit einer simplen Erklärung abtun: Gregor benutzte den von der christlichen Tradition mit der Zeit immer negativer dargestellten Julian, dem alles ohne nähere Belege zugeschrieben werden konnte, als Argument.[3] Dagegen sprechen aber Adressat und Text des Briefes. Es wird kaum anzunehmen sein, dass Gregor in einem Brief an den Kaiser bewusst ein Gesetz erfunden hat, um gegen eine unerwünschte Maßnahme seiner Gegenwart zu polemisieren. Außerdem verweist er auf die, *qui leges veteres noverunt* (3,64,7), was wohl auf zumindest rudimentäre Recherchearbeiten und die Konsultation von in Fragen der Rechtsgeschichte kundigen Personen hinweist. In diesem Fall müsste ein solches Gesetz – ob es tatsächlich erlassen oder Julian nachträglich zugeschrieben wurde, ist dann zweitrangig – in irgendeiner Form in die christliche Überlieferung Eingang gefunden haben und in der christlichen Interpretation als eines der Elemente der christenfeindlichen Politik Julians eingeordnet sein.

Der zeitgeschichtliche Hintergrund

Mit Blick auf die Tatsache, dass es bislang nur wenig Aufmerksamkeit seitens der Forschung erfahren hat,[4] erscheint zunächst eine Auseinandersetzung mit dem Gesetz des Maurikios und eine Zusammenstellung der bislang stark verstreuten Forschungsbeiträge dazu sinnvoll.

Das Gesetz selbst ist nicht erhalten, sondern nur indirekt aus drei Briefen Gregors – spätere Autoren bieten keine zuverlässigen darüber hinausgehenden Informationen – bekannt: Im August des Jahres 593 verfasste Gregor einen Brief an Maurikios (3,61), in dem er gegen dieses Gesetz Stellung bezog (oder, wenn man so will, remonstrierte[5]), zeitgleich bemühte er sich darum, seine Bestrebungen mit

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3 So auch explizit R. L. Cohen, „Me fatuum appellat“. Tensiones entre Gregorio Magno y Mauricio. *Byzantion nea Hellás* 27 (2008) 177 – 202: 186 Anm. 34.

4 Tatsächlich wird es in fast jeder ausführlicheren Darstellung zu Gregor dem Großen oder zur Geschichte des frühmittelalterlichen Papsttums nur mehr oder weniger ausführlich erwähnt, allerdings praktisch nie wirklich eingehender diskutiert, was ebenso für die Beiträge zu Maurikios oder der byzantinischen Geschichte allgemein gilt. Die einzige weiterführende Untersuchung bietet E. H. Fischer, Gregor der Große und Byzanz. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der päpstlichen Politik. *Zeitschrift für Rechtsgeschichte* 80/67, *Kanonistische Abteilung* 36 (1950) 15 – 144: 57 – 68: V. Gregors Stellungnahme zu dem Kaisergesetz über den Eintritt in den geistlichen Stand).

5 Auf diesen Begriff verweist P. Ch. Eich, Gregor der Große. Bischof von Rom zwischen Antike und Mittelalter. Paderborn 2016, 176 und beruft sich dabei auf F. Holmes Dudden, Gregory the Great. His place in history and thought II. London 1905 (Diss. Oxford 1903), 184. Die Formulierung wird in diesem Zusammenhang auch schon von Th. Hodgkin, Italy and her invaders 553 – 600, V. The Lombard invasion. Oxford 1895, 374; J. Langen, Geschichte der römischen Kirche von Leo I. bis

einem Brief an Theodoros (3,64),[6] den Arzt des Maurikios, abzusichern, in dem Gregor von Theodoros erbat, in seinem Sinne Einfluss auf den Kaiser zu nehmen. Aus einem späteren Brief Gregors an die ihm unterstellten Bischöfe (8,10), der im November des Jahres 597 verfasst wurde, lässt sich eine zwischenzeitliche Änderung der Gesetzeslage folgern.

Das zu einem nicht genau bestimmbaren Zeitpunkt im Jahre 592 erlassene Gesetz (3,64,3) enthält die folgenden Bestimmungen:[7]

1. Personen, die eine Tätigkeit in der Verwaltung des Reiches ausüben, dürfen keine Funktionen als Kleriker ausüben (3,61,4; 8,10,1). Bei dieser nicht näher beschriebenen Personengruppe handelt es sich vermutlich sowohl um Mitglieder der Reichsverwaltung als auch um die für die lokalen administrativen Tätigkeiten zuständigen städtischen Kurialen.

2. Diese Personen dürfen ebenfalls nicht als Mönche in ein Kloster eintreten (3, 61,6; 3,64,6; 8,10,1). Anscheinend wird die Möglichkeit einer Ausnahmeregelung

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Nikolaus I. Bonn 1885, 439; H. Grisar, Il pontificato di S. Gregorio Magno nella storia della civiltà cristiana XXXI. La legge dell'imperatore Maurizio intorno l'ingresso ne' monasteri. *Civiltà cattolica* 148. S. 8 (1890) 533 – 540: 539 und T. B. Snow, St. Gregory the Great. His work and spirit. London 1892, 165 = ²1924, 141 verwendet.

6 Fischer, Gregor (wie oben Fußnote 4), 58 – 59 mit Anm. 170 legt dar, dass die Begrifflichkeiten, die in diesem Brief verwendet werden, näher am Originaltext des Gesetzes liegen dürften als die Ausführungen in dem Brief an Maurikios. Allerdings besteht das Problem, dass Gregors Brief an Theodoros nur auf die letzte Bestimmung zu den Soldaten eingeht und für die anderen Maßnahmen hingegen kein Vergleichsmaterial bietet, so dass man für diese auch nur den Brief an Maurikios heranziehen kann.

7 Für Einzelfragen zur Terminologie der Briefe siehe J. F. O'Donnell, The vocabulary of the letters of Saint Gregory the Great. Diss. Catholic University of America (Washington, D.C.) 1934, 72 und 134 – 135; G. Damizia, Lineamenti di diritto canonico nel „registrum epistolarum" di San Gregorio Magno. Rom 1949, 112 Anm. 7 und S. Acerbi, Entre Roma y Bizancio. La Italia de Gregorio Magno a través de su Registrum Epistularum. Madrid 2006, 72 Anm. 220 und 73 Anm. 221. Zur Kategorisierung der Briefe siehe E. Pitz, Papstreskripte im frühen Mittelalter. Diplomatische und rechtsgeschichtliche Studien zum Brief-Corpus Gregors des Großen. Sigmaringen 1990, 204 mit Anm. 2 und 213 – 214 mit Anm. 6 – 7. Mit dem Begriff *manu signatus* (3, 61, 7; 3, 64, 6) ist die nicht entfernbare Tätowierung gemeint, welche die römischen Soldaten in der Spätantike erhielten, nachdem ihre Eignung für den Kriegsdienst festgestellt wurde. Dazu P. Pedrizet, La miraculeuse histoire de Pandare et d'Echédore, suivie de recherches sur la marque dans l'antiquité. *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft* 14 (1911) 54 – 129, insbesondere 110 – 111; Fischer, Gregor (wie oben Fußnote 4), 58 – 59 Anm. 169; Ch. P. Jones, Stigma. Tattooing and branding in Graeco-Roman antiquity. *JRS* 77 (1987) 139 – 155 (nicht zu den militärischen Tätowierungen, behandelt aber 141 – 142 die unterschiedlichen Formen der Tätowierung in der Antike) und Y. Le Bohec, L'armée romaine sous le Bas-Empire. Paris 2006, 58 = Das römische Heer in der späten Kaiserzeit. Stuttgart 2010, 70.

für Personen, bei denen das Kloster für alle noch ausstehenden Zahlungen und Aufgaben bürgt, explizit ausgeschlossen (3, 61, 6).

3. Auch Soldaten ist es nicht erlaubt, als Mönche in ein Kloster einzutreten (3, 61, 8; 3, 61, 16; 3, 61, 23; 3, 64, 6; 3, 64, 10; 8, 10, 1). Damit wird eine zuvor rechtmäßige Praxis verboten (3, 61, 10; 3, 61, 22 – 23). Das Verbot bezieht sich nur auf aktive Soldaten; der Eintritt in ein Kloster ist dann gestattet, wenn die verpflichtende Dienstzeit voll abgeleistet wurde (3, 61, 16; 3, 64, 6) oder aufgrund mangelnder körperlicher Eignung der Dienst nicht (mehr) geleistet werden kann (3, 61, 16).[8] Die Formulierung in der Argumentation Gregors, womit dem möglichen Einwand, der Eintritt in das Kloster geschehe vielleicht nicht aus Überzeugung, entgegengetreten werden soll (3, 61, 21), deutet darauf hin, dass dieser Aspekt in der Argumentation des Gesetzes keine Rolle gespielt hat; die Reduzierung des Heeres als mögliches Motiv wird nur angedeutet (3, 64, 8) und kann daher auch nicht sicher auf den Wortlaut des Gesetzes zurückgeführt werden. Die von Gregor für möglich gehaltene Zielsetzung dieser Bestimmung, Besitz zu erhalten (3, 64, 11), ergibt in diesem Kontext wenig Sinn und scheint daher die Folge einer Vermengung mit der zweiten Bestimmung (3, 61, 6) zu sein.

Ein explizites Zeugnis für den Wirkungsbereich des Gesetzes bietet die Liste der Adressaten von Brief 8, 10.[9] Die Bemerkung in 3, 64, 3 deutet auf ein reichsweites Gesetz hin.

Gregor hat dieses Gesetz bald nach dessen Erlass durch den *vir clarissimus* und *strator* Longinus erhalten (3, 61, 3),[10] konnte jedoch aus gesundheitlichen Gründen (3, 61, 3; 3, 64, 4) erst im darauffolgenden Jahr (3,64,3)[11] darauf antworten.

8 Der Annahme von R. A. Markus, Gregory the Great and his world. Cambridge 1997, 87 – 88, das Gesetz beziehe sich auf die „engaged in or having recently left civil administrative or military office", steht im Fall der Soldaten explizit der Text entgegen, aber auch für die anderen Bestimmungen gibt es darauf keine Hinweise. Laut H. H. Howorth, Saint Gregory the Great. London 1912, 113 betrifft das Gesetz „soldiers still on service and veterans with unexpired obligations", wobei allerdings die möglichen Verpflichtungen der Letzteren unerklärt bleiben.

9 Dazu auch Fischer, Gregor (wie oben Fußnote 4), 61 Anm. 184. Zur Zusammensetzung der Diözese Italia auf Basis der Briefe Gregors siehe Acerbi (wie oben Fußnote 7), 64 – 69.

10 Zu diesem Amt im Kontext der Verwaltung siehe P. Goubert, Byzance avant l'Islam II 2. Rome, Byzance et Carthage. Paris 1965, 49 – 54 (insbesondere 53 mit Anm. 197).

11 Entsprechend sind die Angaben bei F. Dölger, Regesten der Kaiserurkunden des oströmischen Reiches von 565 – 1453, I. Regesten von 565 – 1025. München 1924, 13 (zwischen 1. September 592 und 31. August 593) und F. Dölger, Regesten der Kaiserurkunden des oströmischen Reiches von 565 – 1453, I,1. Regesten 565 – 867, unter Mitarbeit von J. Preiser-Kapeller und A. Riehle besorgt von A. E. Müller. München [2]2009, 41 (zwischen Sommer 592 und Sommer 593) in dieser Form nicht korrekt. Auf die korrekte Datierung hat dagegen bereits Fischer, Gregor (wie oben Fußnote 4), 58 Anm. 166 verwiesen, der die verspätete Antwort S. 61 nicht nur in der Krankheit, sondern auch in politischer Besonnenheit begründet sieht. Die Ein-

Die erste Bestimmung wird von Gregor begrüßt, da der Übertritt von Mitgliedern der Verwaltung des Reiches für gewöhnlich nur eine Modifikation der vorherigen Machtstellung bedeutet (3,61,5; 8,10,1–2).[12] Die zweite Bestimmung hingegen kritisiert er, da er es als praktikabel erachtet, dass das Kloster für eventuell bestehende Verbindlichkeiten des neuen Mönches aufkommt (3,61,6), zumal dieser, wenn sein Eintritt auf ehrlichen Absichten beruht, selbst darum bemüht sei, für Schulden und Unrecht Widergutmachung zu leisten (3,61,7). Die dritte Bestimmung findet den deutlichsten Widerstand Gregors. Neben vor allem rein theologischen Argumenten (3,61,10–12; 3,61,14–15; 3,61,17–20; 3,61,25–27; 3,61,29) führt er auch den praktischen Punkt an, dass eventuelle Zweifel an der Echtheit des Klostereintritts (3,61,21) unberechtigt sind (3,61,22) und selbst eine eventuelle spürbare Reduzierung des Heeres angesichts des Sieges gegen die Perser[13] keine Einbußen der Kampfkraft bedeuten (3,64,8–9). Zuletzt zieht er eben noch Julian als historisches Beispiel heran (3,61,24; 3,64,7). Allerdings geht Gregor nicht so weit, einen vollständigen Widerruf zu fordern, sondern er bittet lediglich um *interpretatio* oder *inmutatio* (3,61,28), also um eine zusätzliche Ausdeutung vermutlich in Form von Ausnahmeregelungen oder eine Abwandlung des Inhaltes. Theodoros soll in diesem Zusammenhang nicht nur für Gregor eintreten (3,64,13–17), sondern auch den Brief an Maurikios übergeben (3,64,14; dem widerspricht 3, 64,5 nicht unbedingt). Trotz seiner Kritikpunkte hat Gregor jedoch, wie von

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ordnung von 3, 64 in den August 597 durch L. Bréhier, Les rapports entre Rome et Constantinople de l'avènement de Grégoire le Grand a la chute de Phocas (590–610), in L. Bréhier / R. Aigrain (éds.), Histoire de l'église V. Grégoire le Grand, les états barbares et la conquête arabe (590–757). Paris 1938 = ^{2}1947, 55–77: 60, Anm. 2 ist vermutlich nur ein Druckfehler oder eine Verwechslung mit dem späteren Brief 8, 10.

12 Das grundsätzliche Problem, dass es Versuche gab, sich durch ein Priesteramt seinen Pflichten zu entziehen, bezeugt Gregor auch schon in früheren Briefen: 2, 37 Ewald/Hartmann = 2, 31 Norberg (J. Modesto, Gregor der Große. Nachfolger Petri und Universalprimat. St. Ottilien 1989 [Diss. München 1988/89], 127 Anm. 37 zitiert den Brief versehentlich als 2, 30); 4, 26. Das Problem, dass Priester weiterhin dem Weltlichen verhaftet waren, schildert er in den Briefen 5, 60 und 8, 4. Siehe dazu noch Fischer, Gregor (wie oben Fußnote 4), 59–60 Anm. 174 und B. Müller, Führung im Denken und Handeln Gregors des Grossen. Tübingen 2009 (Habil.-Schr. Erlangen 2005), 298 Anm. 135 (mit Verweis auf den nicht ganz so aussagekräftigen Brief 4, 39, der zudem auch nur das Kaisergesetz CI 1, 3, 52 umsetzt).

13 Am ausführlichsten zum Perserkrieg des Maurikios handeln M. J. Higgins, The Persian war of the emperor Maurice (582–602) I. The chronology, with a brief history of the Persian calendar, Diss. Catholic University of America 1939 und P. Goubert, Byzance avant l'Islam I. Byzance et l'Orient sous les successeurs de Justinien. L'empereur Maurice. Paris 1951, 87–183.

Maurikios angewiesen, Kopien des Gesetzes an die ihm unterstellten Bischöfe verschickt (3, 61, 30; 8, 10, 1).[14]

Wichtig für die Beurteilung des Gesetzes ist die Frage, ob es sich hierbei um eine wesentliche Änderung der Rechtslage handelt oder ob lediglich ältere Bestimmungen wiederholt und allenfalls mit geringfügigen Modifikationen versehen wurden. Für die erste Bestimmung verweist die Forschung auf die bereits seit Konstantin (CTh 16, 2, 3) nachweisbaren Verbote für Dekurionen, ein Priesteramt zu übernehmen.[15] In diesem Zusammenhang ist allerdings zu berücksichtigen, dass die spätantike Gesetzgebung zu den Kurialen und deren Aufnahme in Heer, Verwaltung und Klerus nicht konsequent ist, sondern immer wieder zwischen den

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14 Zu den verwaltungsgeschichtlichen Hintergründen: L.M. Hartmann, Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der byzantinischen Verwaltung in Italien (540 – 750). Leipzig 1889, 37 – 38. Fischer, Gregor (wie oben Fußnote 4), 62 Anm. 185 weist darauf hin, dass die Weiterversendung nicht den Charakter einer päpstlichen Approbation haben sollte, sondern eher als „Schwebezustand bis zu einer neuen Äußerung d. Kaisers" gedacht war. Allerdings scheint das zu sehr von dem (kaum selbstverständlichen) späteren Erfolg Gregors her gedacht zu sein. Laut Snow, St. Gregory (wie oben Fußnote 5), 165 = 140 – 141 habe Maurikios gehofft, mit der Weiterversendung durch Gregor die Zustimmung der Kirche zu dem Gesetz zu sichern.

15 Grisar, Legge (wie oben Fußnote 5), 535, Anm. 1 (zu 534); H.K. Mann, The lives of the popes in the early middle ages I. The popes under Lombard rule, St. Gregory (the Great) to Leo III. 590 – 795, part I. 590 – 657. [2]London 1902, 118; P. Batiffol, S. Grégoire le Grand. Paris 1928, 195 Anm. 2; E. Caspar, Geschichte des Papsttums von den Anfängen bis zur Höhe der Weltherrschaft II. Das Papsttum unter byzantinischer Herrschaft. Tübingen 1933, 465 – 466 mit 466, Anm. 1; Bréhier, Rapports (wie oben Fußnote 11), 60 mit Anm. 4; D. Liebs, Die Jurisprudenz im spätantiken Italien (260 – 640 n.Chr.). Berlin 1987, 127 Anm. 3 (CTh 16, 2, 3; 6; 17); Ph. Henne, Grégoire le Grand. Paris 2007, 232; Cohen, „Me fatuum appellat" (wie oben Fußnote 3), 183 mit Anm. 20. Fischer, Gregor (wie oben Fußnote 4), 58 Anm. 168 geht davon aus, dass sich Maurikios in seinem Gesetz nicht auf die Vorgängermaßnahmen berufen hat, da Gregor ansonsten dazu Stellung bezogen hätte, übersieht aber, dass die erste Bestimmung des Gesetzes ja von Gregor befürwortet wird (3, 61, 5) und eine über die Zustimmung hinausgehende Stellungnahme somit nicht notwendig war. Die in den folgenden Zeilen skizzierte Rechtslage vor allem der Vorjahre spricht auch klar dafür, dass sich das Gesetz des Maurikios vor allem auf noch aktiv in der Verwaltung tätige Personen bezieht, wohingegen Eich, Gregor (wie oben Fußnote 5), 264 Anm. 24 es auf ehemalige Funktionsträger bezieht, um die Durchsetzung ihrer Rechenschaftspflichten zu gewährleisten; ähnlich auch Modesto, Gregor (wie oben Fußnote 12), 122: „jeder, der einmal öffentliche Ämter bekleidet hat, darf nicht in den kirchlichen Dienst, nicht in ein Kloster eintreten". Allerdings ist angesichts dessen, dass bereits im vierten Jahrhundert Bestimmungen festzustellen sind, die nach der Dienstzeit Fristen zur Prüfung der geleisteten Tätigkeit festlegen (CTh 8, 1, 6; CTh 8, 1, 9 = CI 12, 49, 2), davon auszugehen, dass eine solche Zeitspanne, in der die entsprechenden Personen zu einem Leben als Privatperson verpflichtet waren, ebenfalls noch unter die abzuleistenden Pflichten fällt.

Interessen der Kurien und denen der genannten Institutionen schwankt.[16] So geht etwa aus CTh 12,1,49 aus der Zeit des Constantius II. hervor, dass Kuriale die Möglichkeit hatten, ihren Besitz an einen nahen Verwandten oder die Kurie abzutreten, wenn sie dem Klerus beitreten wollten. CTh 16,2,15 = CI 1,3,3 legt fest, dass Kleriker nur dann von *munera sordida* und der *collatio lustralis* befreit sind, wenn ihr Grundbesitz bzw. ihre Handelstätigkeit nur geringfügigen Ausmaßes sind; anderenfalls sind sie wie alle anderen Personen mit entsprechendem Besitz den Kurialenpflichten unterworfen. CTh 16,2,19 wiederum gewährt Klerikern nach zehn Jahren Befreiung von den Dekurionenpflichten; werden sie zuvor von der Kurie zurückberufen, greift die Befreiung nicht.

Die Novellen Justinians, welche vermutlich auch noch die Rechtslage vor dem Gesetz des Maurikios abbilden, enthalten die folgenden Bestimmungen (123,15): Dekurionen dürfen nicht Geistliche werden und falls es ihnen gelungen sein sollte, dennoch in den Klerus einzutreten, sind sie in ihre Kurie zurückzuversetzen. Eine Ausnahme gibt es für Personen, die fünfzehn Jahre als Mönch gelebt haben. Diese können dann zu Geistlichen werden, jedoch unter der Bedingung, dass ihr Vermögen an die Kurie, der sie verpflichtet sind, gegeben wird und sie auch weiterhin wie ein Mönch einem Eheverbot unterliegen (dazu auch Nov. 5,8). Kehren diese Kleriker zu einem späteren Zeitpunkt zu den weltlichen Angelegenheiten zurück, werden sie ihren Kurien übergeben und unterliegen wieder den damit verbundenen Verpflichtungen.[17] Maurikios verschärfte also offensichtlich die Maßnahmen Justinians insofern, dass er, wie das auch die Worte Gregors nahelegen (3, 61,6), verbleibende Ausnahmeregelungen vollständig abschaffte und den Mitgliedern der lokalen und imperialen Verwaltung den Eintritt in den Klerus oder ein Kloster vollständig verbot.[18]

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16 Dazu mit weiteren Belegen und älterer Literatur: Brendel, Kaiser Julians Gesetzgebungswerk (wie oben Fußnote 0), 198 – 202.

17 Unrichtig ist die Behauptung von B. Müller, Gregory the Great and monasticism, in B. Neil / M. Dal Santo (eds.), A companion to Gregory the Great. Leiden 2013, 83 – 108: 96 Anm. 90, mit dem Gesetz des Maurikios sei die Rechtslage gegenüber der unter Justinian verändert worden, da unter diesem jedem der Weg zum Mönchtum offengestanden habe. Zur Frage, ob ein Mönch oder Kleriker zu den weltlichen Angelegenheiten zurückkehren darf, siehe vor allem Nov. 5,8 sowie weiterhin 5,6 und 123,5 – 6.

18 Das weist darauf hin, dass nicht nur fiskalische Hintergründe, die Fischer, Gregor (wie oben Fußnote 4), 63 Anm. 191 hervorhebt, sondern auch personelle Aspekte als wesentlicher Faktor für das Gesetz anzusehen sind.

Einfacher ist diese Frage für die dritte Bestimmung zu beantworten, da aus Gregors eigenen Worten hervorgeht, dass der Eintritt von Soldaten in ein Kloster bis zum Gesetz des Maurikios gestattet war (3, 61, 10; 3, 61, 22–23).[19]

Was hat Maurikios aber zu dieser Änderung der Rechtslage bewogen? Da der Originaltext des Gesetzes fehlt, können seine Motive nur geschlussfolgert werden. Wenn Gregor nun die erste Bestimmung befürwortet und das auch mit dem fortgesetzten weltlich ausgeprägten Lebensstil von zu Geistlichen gewordenen Mitgliedern der Verwaltung des Reiches begründet (3, 61, 5; 8, 10, 2), liegt es nahe, dass er damit einer bereits von Maurikios vorgebrachten Argumentation folgt. Der Einwand gegen die zweite Bestimmung, ein Kloster könne auch die Schulden des neu aufgenommenen Gemeinschaftsmitglieds übernehmen (3, 61, 6; siehe auch 3, 64, 11, was vermutlich auch hierauf zu beziehen ist), deutet darauf hin, dass der Eintritt ins Kloster dazu diente, sich anfallender Verpflichtungen oder Schulden zu entledigen.[20] Über die Gründe für das Verbot für Soldaten, Mönche zu werden, lässt sich den Briefen selbst nichts entnehmen; eine Reduzierung des Heeres wird durch Gregor als Motiv eher vermutet als konstatiert (3, 64, 8). Meist wird vermutet, dass damit der Erhalt der Kampfkraft des Heeres gesichert werden sollte[21] und

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19 Mit diesen Ausführungen erledigt sich auch die Behauptung von C. M. Patrono, Dei conflitti tra l'imperatore Maurizio Tiberio e il papa Gregorio Magno. *Rivista di storia antica* N.S. 13 (1909) 47–83: 61–62 mit Anm. 4, nach dem Maurikios nur Gesetze Justinians wiederholte. Patronos These, die noch bei Dölger, Regesten (wie oben Fußnote 11), 14 und Dölger/Müller, Regesten (wie oben Fußnote 11), 42 widerspruchslos referiert wird, hat schon zuvor Widerspruch gefunden: Caspar, Geschichte (wie oben Fußnote 15), 466, Anm. 1; Bréhier, Rapports (wie oben Fußnote 11), 61 Anm. 2; Fischer, Gregor (wie oben Fußnote 4), 58 Anm. 168 (siehe auch 68 Anm. 203). Nicht zugestimmt werden kann dagegen Caspar, Geschichte (wie oben Fußnote 15), 466 Anm. 1, der die Bemerkung zu Julian als Beleg dafür ansieht, dass es sich bei dieser Bestimmung um neues Recht handelte, da eine frühere Konstitution Julians das ja gerade widerlegen würde. Der grundsätzlich richtige Gedanke Caspars wäre daher eher so zu formulieren, dass es sich bei der Bestimmung (zumindest aus der Sicht Gregors) um die Überschreitung einer Grenze und somit einen nicht alltäglichen Regierungsakt handelte.

20 Müller, Führung (wie oben Fußnote 12), 297. G. J. Th. Lau, Gregor I. der Grosse nach seinem Leben und seiner Lehre. Leipzig 1845, 109 scheint hingegen anzunehmen, Gregor wolle mit dieser Aussage verdeutlichen, es gehe den Klöstern nur um die Personen und sie würden somit auf eventuellen Besitz, den der neue Mönch mitbringt, verzichten, allerdings wird 3, 61, 7 klar von unrechtmäßig erworbenem Besitz gesprochen.

21 Zu dem Gesetz im Kontext der Rekrutierungsmethoden des Maurikios siehe F. E. Shlosser, Military and civil administration under the emperor Maurice (582–602). A reassessment, Diss. McGill University 1980, 154–155 mit Anm. 123 = F. E. Shlosser, The reign of the emperor Maurikios (582–602). A reassessment. Athen 1994, 115 mit Anm. 111. Siehe weiterhin: Snow, St. Gregory (wie oben Fußnote 5), 164–165 = 140; Dudden, Gregory (wie oben Fußnote 5), 181–182; Howorth, Saint Gregory (wie oben Fußnote 8), 112–113; W. Ensslin, Mauricius (4). *RE* XIV,2 (1930), 2387–2393: 2390; Caspar, Geschichte (wie oben Fußnote 15), 465–466; J. Ri-

nicht selten wird es auch konkret mit den Kriegen des Maurikios in Verbindung gebracht.[22] Für eine kirchenfeindliche Maßnahme, wie sie von späteren Quellen (Ioh. Diac. 3,50,1; Ivo 10,128,1) behauptet wird, gibt es dagegen keine Anhaltspunkte,[23] ebensowenig für die von denselben Autoren behauptete Gier als Motiv,[24] auch die dort erfolgte Behauptung, das Gesetz sei dem Kaiser von seinen Feinden eingeflüstert worden, wird durch Gregors eigenes Zeugnis widerlegt (3,64,3).

CHARDS, Consul of God. The life and times of Gregory the Great. London 1980, 222 = Gregor der Große. Sein Leben, seine Zeit. Graz 1983, 229; G. JENAL, Grégoire le Grand et la vie monastique dans l'Italie de son temps, in J. Fontaine/R. Gillet/S. Pellistrandi (éds.), Grégoire le Grand. Chantilly, centre culturel Les Fontaines, 15 – 19 septembre 1982. Paris 1986, 147 – 157: 151 mit 155 Anm. 52; COHEN, „Me fatuum appellat" (wie oben Fußnote 3), 184. LAU, Gregor (wie oben Fußnote 20), 108; HODGKIN, Italy (wie oben Fußnote 5), 373; K. H.L. DESCHNER, Kriminalgeschichte des Christentums IV. Frühmittelalter, von König Chlodwig I. (um 500) bis zum Tode Karls „des Großen" (814). Reinbek bei Hamburg 1994, 161 mit 526 Anm. 12 (der 16 mit 509, Anm. 7 noch den Glauben an das baldige Weltende als Grund für überdurchschnittlich hohe Eintrittszahlen erachtet, wogegen aber Gregors Aussage in 10,9,2 angeführt werden kann); DÖLGER/MÜLLER, Regesten (wie oben Fußnote 11), 142; MÜLLER, Monasticism (wie oben Fußnote 17), 96 – 97 und EICH, Gregor (wie oben Fußnote 5), 175 hingegen legen den Fokus eher auf den Aspekt der Bekämpfung von Pflichtverletzungen; siehe in diesem Zusammenhang noch ergänzend die Bemerkungen von G.FINLAY, A history of Greece from its conquest by the Romans to the present time B.C. 146 to A.D. 1864, I. Greece under the Romans B.C. 146 – A.D. 716. [2]Oxford 1877, 305, Anm. 1 = Griechenland unter den Römern. Historische Übersicht des Zustandes der griechischen Nation seit ihrer Unterjochung durch die Römer bis zum Erlöschen der römischen Macht im Orient 146 v. C. bis 716 n. C. Leipzig 1861, 288 Anm. 13.

22 L. MAIMBOURG, Histoire du pontificat de S. Gregoire le Grand I. Paris 1686, 200 – 203; R. BAXMANN, Die Politik der Päpste von Gregor I. bis auf Gregor VII. I. Elberfeld 1868, 73; GRISAR, Legge (wie oben Fußnote 5), 533; MANN, Lives (wie oben Fußnote 15), 117 – 118; BRÉHIER, Rapports (wie oben Fußnote 11), 60 (der daneben einen Bevölkerungsrückgang als weiteren Grund annimmt); FISCHER, Gregor (wie oben Fußnote 4), 60; MODESTO, Gregor (wie oben Fußnote 12), 126; HENNE, Grégoire (wie oben Fußnote 15), 232.

23 SNOW, St. Gregory (wie oben Fußnote 5), 164 – 165 = 140; FISCHER, Gregor (wie oben Fußnote 4), 60; MODESTO, Gregor (wie oben Fußnote 12), 126. Von DÖLGER/MÜLLER, Regesten (wie oben Fußnote 11), 42 wird darauf hingewiesen, dass dem Bericht des Johannes Diaconus kein eigenständiger Wert zukommt, da er sich lediglich auf die beiden Briefe Gregors stützt. Allerdings widerspricht die negative Charakteristik des Maurikios gerade einigen (von Johannes augelassenen) Angaben der Briefe Gregors (3,61,5; 3,61,27 – 28; 3,64,1 – 2; 8,10, 1 – 2; 8,10,7), so dass ironischerweise die eigenständigen Partien bei Johannes von noch geringerem Wert sind als das bloße Abschriften der Briefe wären.

24 So allerdings Mann (wie oben Fußnote 15), 117 – 118. Die Gier des Maurikios wird auch in byzantinischen Quellen, jedoch ohne Verbindung zu dieser Maßnahme, thematisiert, so etwa bei Theophanes Confessor AM 6079 (DE BOOR 260,2); diese Stelle fehlt interessanterweise in der lateinischen Übersetzung des Anastasius Bibliothecarius (siehe DE BOOR II,159,18 – 21).

Aus dem Brief 8,10 (November 597[25]) geht hervor, dass die Proteste Gregors erfolgreich waren und Maurikios das Gesetz zurücknahm oder zumindest stark entschärfte.[26] Während diese These – allenfalls mit Modifikationen auf unsicherer Grundlage[27] – von einem großen Teil der Forschung übernommen wird,[28] nimmt

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25 Warum die anzunehmenden Verhandlungen zwischen Gregor und Maurikios so lange dauerten, lässt sich nicht sicher feststellen: J. Richards, The popes and the papacy in the early middle ages 476 – 752. London 1979, 175 mit 384, Anm. 56 und Dölger/Müller, Regesten (wie oben Fußnote 11), 42 gehen von einer komplizierten und umfangreichen Diskussion aus. Snow, St. Gregory (wie oben Fußnote 5), 169 = 144 und Fischer, Gregor (wie oben Fußnote 4), 65 – 66, Anm. 198 denken hingegen, dass Maurikios das Gesetz aus Prestigegründen nicht zu früh zurücknehmen konnte.

26 Grisar, Legge (wie oben Fußnote 5), 540 mit Anm. 2; Snow, St. Gregory (wie oben Fußnote 5), 169 – 170 mit Anm. * = 144 – 145 mit Anm. 1; Mann, Lives (wie oben Fußnote 15), 120; Batiffol, S. Grégoire (wie oben Fußnote 15), 197 mit Anm. 1; Bréhier, Rapports (wie oben Fußnote 11), 60 mit Anm. 3 und 61 mit Anm. 2; G. Kopka Jr., The pope as a diplomat. A study of selected correspondence of Gregory the Great with secular authorities of his day, Diss. University of Texas 1967, 22 mit 57 Anm. 30; Richards, Popes (wie oben Fußnote 25), 175 mit 384, Anm. 56; Richards, Consul (wie oben Fußnote 21), 223 = Richards, Gregor, 230; Jenal, Grégoire (wie oben Fußnote 21), 151 mit 155 Anm. 52; Liebs, Jurisprudenz (wie oben Fußnote 15), 127 Anm. 5; J. Herrin, The formation of Christendom. London 1987, 180 mit Anm. 93; Ch. Fraisse-Coué, Gregor der Große und der Osten, in L. Pietri (Hrsg.), Die Geschichte des Christentums III. Der lateinische Westen und der byzantinische Osten (431 – 642). Freiburg i. Br. 2001, 931 – 961: 938 Anm. 271; Müller, Führung (wie oben Fußnote 12), 299, Anm. 139; M. Dal Santo, Gregory the Great, the empire and the emperor, in B. Neil / M. Dal Santo (eds.), A companion to Gregory the Great. Leiden 2013, 57 – 81: 74 mit Anm. 88; Eich, Gregor (wie oben Fußnote 5), 176 mit 264, Anm. 24. F. E. Consolino, Il papa e le regine. Potere femminile e politica ecclesiastica nell'epistolario di Gregorio Magno, in: Gregorio Magno e il suo tempo. XIX incontro di studiosi dell'antichità cristiana in collaborazione con l'École Française de Rome, Roma, 9 – 12 maggio 1990 I. Studi storici, Rom 1991, 225 – 249: 234 verweist noch darauf, dass Constantina, die Frau des Maurikios, in dieser Angelegenheit (wie auch allgemein) kein wesentlicher Faktor zur Beeinflussung des Maurikios war.

27 Müller, Führung (wie oben Fußnote 12), 298 und 299, Anm. 139 und Müller, Monasticism (wie oben Fußnote 17), 97 mit Anm. 95 sieht die dort beschriebene Vorgehensweise als Kompromissvorschlag Gregors an, der von Maurikios als Gesetz übernommen wurde. Das ist denkbar, allerdings lässt sich nicht sicher sagen, ob die Regelung auf einen Vorschlag Gregors, die Überarbeitung des Gesetzes durch Maurikios oder eine von Maurikios modifizierte Idee Gregors für eine Regelung zurückgeht; plausibler ist die Annahme von Dudden, Gregory (wie oben Fußnote 5), 185 mit Anm. 1, der das in dem Brief beschriebene System als Umänderung des Gesetzes durch Maurikios mit eigenen zusätzlichen Maßnahmen Gregors ansieht – als Teil der neuen Regelung des Maurikios hingegen bei Howorth, Saint Gregory (wie oben Fußnote 8), 115 und Eich, Gregor (wie oben Fußnote 5), 176. Markus, Gregory (wie oben Fußnote 8), 88 Anm. 26 hält neben einer Modifikation des Gesetzes auch eine Uminterpretation durch Gregor für möglich; ähnlich Snow, St. Gregory (wie oben Fußnote 5), 169 = 144 (nach dem Gregor die Aufgabe erhielt, das Gesetz so umzugestalten, dass auch nach der Abschaffung der strikten Verbote Missbräuche eingedämmt

Patrono hingegen an, der Brief 8,10 sei bereits im November 592 verfasst worden,[29] so dass Gregor bereits vor seinem Protest gegenüber Maurikios eine eigenmächtige Änderung des Gesetzes vorgenommen habe. Da allerdings keine zwingenden Gründe für die Umdatierung des Briefes oder die Annahme, Gregor habe sich eine offene Zuwiderhandlung gegen die kaiserlichen Anweisungen geleistet, vorliegen, wurde diese These bereits zuvor wiederholt von der Forschung abgelehnt.[30]

Die Rechtslage, wie sie in diesem Brief geschildert wird – wobei nicht immer sicher zwischen den Inhalten des neuen Gesetzestextes und zusätzlichen Maßnahmen Gregors unterschieden werden kann –, lautet folgendermaßen: Personen, die in der Verwaltung tätig sind, dürfen weder ohne Weiteres in den Klerus (8,10,1) noch in ein Kloster aufgenommen werden (8,10,3). Wer von diesen Personen in

werden konnten); Caspar, Geschichte (wie oben Fußnote 15), 467 – 468; A. Ehrhard, Die katholische Kirche im Wandel der Zeiten und der Völker I. Die Kirche im Bereich der alten Völker II. Die christlichen Kirchen im Westen und im Osten I. Die griechische und die lateinische Kirche. Bonn 1937, 348 (der aber gewiss irrt, wenn er annimmt, Maurikios habe den Brief Gregors nicht beantwortet); Bréhier, Rapports (wie oben Fußnote 11), 61, Anm. 2 sowie Fischer, Gregor (wie oben Fußnote 4), 59 Anm. 171 und 66 Anm. 198 (laut dem Gregor sogar die Aufgabe hatte, die Umdeutung so zu gestalten, dass das Gesetz unauffällig außer Kraft gesetzt werden konnte). C. Wolfsgruber, Gregor der Große. Ravensburg 1897, 134 erwähnt Andeutungen in (somit mehreren) „späteren Briefen", die eine Rücknahme oder eine Milderung des Gesetzes belegen, bietet aber keine entsprechenden Belege dafür, was besonders unerfreulich ist, da sich nur ein Brief (8, 10) ermitteln ließ, der Rückschlüsse auf die weitere Entwicklung der Rechtslage zulässt; zudem weist Wolfsgruber darauf hin, dass der Erfolg der Einflussnahme des Theodoros nicht bekannt ist, was insofern zu präzisieren ist, dass nicht bekannt ist, warum genau Maurikios nun das Gesetz abänderte. Hodgkin, Italy (wie oben Fußnote 5), 377 konstatiert entgegen der Quellenlage, die weitere Entwicklung der Angelegenheit sei nicht bekannt, das Gesetz habe aber vermutlich fortbestanden, ohne durchgesetzt zu werden.

28 Ohne stichhaltige Begründung wird allerdings die Gegenmeinung vertreten bei: Lau, Gregor (wie oben Fußnote 20), 109; Langen, Geschichte (wie oben Fußnote 5), 460; Pitz, Papstreskripte (wie oben Fußnote 7), 231 mit Anm. 91 – 92. Noch weiter geht J. Friedrich, Die Constantinische Schenkung. Nördlingen 1889, 129 – 130 (das Gesetz wurde nicht zurückgenommen, aber von den Bischöfen entweder zu streng oder zu lässig ausgeführt, so dass Gregor sich zu dem Schreiben an die Bischöfe genötigt gesehen hat).

29 Patrono, Conflitti (wie oben Fußnote 19), 69 – 71. Ähnlich auch J. Hergenröther, Katholische Kirche und christlicher Staat in ihrer geschichtlichen Entwicklung und in Beziehung auf die Fragen der Gegenwart. Historisch-theologische Essays und zugleich ein Anti-Janus vindicatus I. Freiburg i. Br. 1872, 449 – 450 mit Anm. 4. Fischer, Gregor (wie oben Fußnote 4), 62 Anm. 185 weist darauf hin, dass bereits Baronius eine Vordatierung des Briefes versucht hat.

30 P. Hinschius, System des katholischen Kirchenrechts mit besonderer Rücksicht auf Deutschland III. Berlin 1883, 685, Anm. 11; Caspar, Geschichte (wie oben Fußnote 15), 465 Anm. 5 (der dort auch eine ältere These referiert, bei dem Protest Gregors handele es sich um eine Fälschung); Bréhier, Rapports (wie oben Fußnote 11), 61 Anm. 2; Fischer, Gregor (wie oben Fußnote 4), 66 Anm. 199.

den Klerus eintreten will, strebt laut Gregor nicht nach der Aufgabe der weltlichen Dinge (8,10,2); eine konkrete Konsequenz daraus wird nicht genannt, allerdings ist zu vermuten, dass ähnlich wie bei den noch anzuführenden Fällen eine genaue Prüfung von Charakter und Lebensweg durchgeführt werden soll. Die Aufnahme in ein Kloster ist erst dann möglich, wenn eine Befreiung von der Verwaltungstätigkeit erwirkt werden konnte (8,10,3), die mit Blick auf die frühere kaiserliche Gesetzgebung zu diesem Thema (siehe oben) vermutlich entweder durch Ableistung des verbleibenden Dienstes, ein kaiserliches Privileg oder die Stellung eines Ersatzmannes und dessen Ausstattung mit ausreichenden Mitteln geschehen kann. Auch Soldaten, die in ein Kloster eintreten wollen, müssen zunächst eine Untersuchung ihres Lebensweges über sich ergehen lassen (8,10,4) und eine dreijährige Frist abwarten, bevor sie den Status eines Mönchs erreichen (8,10,5).[31] Verlaufen die Prüfung und die Probezeit derart, dass sie als würdig erachtet werden, dürfen sie nicht abgelehnt werden (8,10,6). Die von Gregor geschilderte Vorgehensweise ist mit dem Kaiser abgesprochen und findet dessen Zustimmung, so dass nicht im Rahmen der Verwaltung verpflichteten Personen der Eintritt in ein Kloster gestattet ist (8,10,7).

Einige Forscher führen in Zusammenhang mit diesem Gesetz auch noch Gregors Brief 10,9 an den Bischof Fortunatus von Neapel vom April des Jahres 600 als zusätzlichen Beleg für die Entwicklung der Rechtslage an.[32] Dieser behandelt zwar nur Aspekte des Mönchtums, geht aber nur in einem Satz (10,9,10) mit der Frage nach der Möglichkeit für Soldaten, in ein Kloster einzutreten, auf ein hierfür relevantes Thema ein. Gregor gibt darin allerdings nur die Anweisung, dass in solchen Fällen keine Entscheidung getroffen werden darf, ohne dass zuvor seine Zustimmung eingeholt wurde. Eine wie auch immer geartete Verbindung mit dem kaiserlichen Recht ist aus seinem Brief jedoch nicht zu entnehmen, so dass diese Entscheidung vermutlich eher auf Probleme zurückgeht, die den innerkirchlichen Regulierungsmechanismen unterworfen waren (so etwa die zweijährige Probezeit für künftige Mönche: 10,9,7).

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31 In den Novellen Justinians wird ebenfalls eine dreijährige Frist für Anwärter allgemein bestimmt (5,2 und 123,35; im letzteren nur explizit für Sklaven).

32 Dudden, Gregory (wie oben Fußnote 5), 185 mit Anm. 1; Caspar, Geschichte (wie oben Fußnote 15), 468 mit Anm. 4 (Gregor entscheidet, um Konflikte mit dem Gesetz zu vermeiden, über jeden Fall selbst); Fischer, Gregor (wie oben Fußnote 4), 67 mit Anm. 201 (Brief beweist, dass das Gesetz bereits im Jahre 600 nicht mehr durchgesetzt wurde); Kopka, Pope (wie oben Fußnote 26), 22 mit 58, Anm. 31; Jenal, Grégoire (wie oben Fußnote 21), 151 mit 155, Anm. 52; Markus, Gregory (wie oben Fußnote 8), 88 mit Anm. 26; Dal Santo, Gregory (wie oben Fußnote 26), 74 mit Anm. 88; Eich, Gregor (wie oben Fußnote 5), 176 mit 264, Anm. 24.

Die Briefe in den Kontext der Rhetorik und Motive Gregors,[33] seiner Stellung zum Mönchtum[34] oder seiner Beziehungen mit Maurikios (die kontrovers beurteilt werden) und der weltlichen Herrschaft allgemein[35] einzuordnen würde an dieser

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33 Caspar, Geschichte (wie oben Fußnote 15), 466, Anm. 3; Fischer, Gregor (wie oben Fußnote 4), 60 und 65; C. Dagens, Saint Grégoire le Grand. Culture et expérience chrétiennes. Paris 1977, 294 und 380; Richards, Consul (wie oben Fußnote 21), 222 = Richards, Gregor, 229; G. R. Evans, The thought of Gregory the Great. Cambridge 1986, 123; Modesto, Gregor (wie oben Fußnote 12), 122 – 128; Henne, Grégoire (wie oben Fußnote 15), 233; Müller, Führung (wie oben Fußnote 12), 298 – 299; J. Baun, Gregory's eschatology, in B. Neil / M. Dal Santo (Hrsg.), A companion to Gregory the Great. Leiden 2013, 157 – 176 (insbesondere 158 – 159). Unergiebig in dieser Hinsicht sind dagegen die Ausfälle von Baxmann, Politik (wie oben Fußnote 22), für den die Antwort Gregors den „pfäffischen Geist, der durch die Welt wehte" (73) und „die allerhöchste Anmassung, als sei er der Mund der Gottheit" (74) darstellt. Zu Gregors Kenntnissen des Rechts, die insbesondere in seinem Brief 13, 50 Ewald/Hartmann = 13, 49 Norberg hervortreten, siehe noch M. Conrat (Cohn), Geschichte der Quellen und Literatur des römischen Rechts. Leipzig 1891, 8 – 13; K. F. Morrison, Tradition and authority in the western church 300 – 1140. Princeton 1969, 138 und Liebs, Jurisprudenz (wie oben Fußnote 15), 127 – 129.

34 Dazu allgemein auch Dudden, Gregory (wie oben Fußnote 5), 160 – 200; Caspar, Geschichte (wie oben Fußnote 15), 466 mit Anm. 4; O. M. Porcel, La doctrina monástica de San Gregorio Magno y la „Regula monachorum". Washington, D. C. 1951 (Diss. Catholic University of America 1950); R. Rudmann, Mönchtum und kirchlicher Dienst in den Schriften Gregors des Großen. St. Ottilien 1956 (Diss. Rom 1954); A. H. M. Jones, The later Roman empire 284 – 602. A social, economic, and administrative survey. Oxford 1964, II, 980 mit III, 329, Anm. 90; G. J. M. Bartelink, Gregorius over het monachisme en de plaats van de monnik in de kerk, in E. Dekkers / G. J. M. Bartelink, Voordrachten over de heilige Gregorius de Grote met een keuze uit zijn werken. Bonheiden 1986, 103 – 113; Jenal, Grégoire (wie oben Fußnote 21), 147 – 157; J.-Y. Pertin, Justice et gouvernement dans l'église d'après les lettres de saint Grégoire le Grand. Paris 2015 (Diss. Rom 2014), 53 – 77. In diesem Zusammenhang bislang unberücksichtigt geblieben sind wirtschaftsgeschichtliche Faktoren wie etwa die Bedeutung der neuen Mönche als Arbeitskräfte; die einzige kurze Diskussion dazu erfolgt bei H. Köpstein, Zu den Agrarverhältnissen, in F. Winkelmann / H. Köpstein / H. Ditten / I. Rochow (Hrsg.), Byzanz im 7. Jahrhundert. Untersuchungen zur Herausbildung des Feudalismus. Berlin 1978, 1 – 72: 21 – 22 mit Anm. 1.

35 Speziell zum Verhältnis zwischen Gregor und Maurikios handelt zuletzt der leider wenig gelungene, da im Wesentlichen nur die relevanten Quellenpassagen (zudem nach der *Patrologia Latina*) paraphrasierenden Beitrag von Cohen, „Me fatuum appellat" (wie oben Fußnote 3), 177 – 202. Siehe allgemein weiterhin: J. Hergenröther, Photius, Patriarch von Constantinopel. Sein Leben, seine Schriften und das griechische Schisma I. Regensburg 1867, 185 – 188; H. Grisar, Der römische Primat nach der Lehre und der Regierungs-Praxis Gregors des Großen. *Zeitschrift für katholische Theologie* 3 (1879) 655 – 693: 684 – 685; Ch. Diehl, Études sur l'administration byzantine dans l'exarchat de Ravenne (568 – 751). Paris 1888, 383; J. B. Bury, A history of the later Roman empire from Arcadius to Irene (395 A.D. to 800 A.D.) II. London 1889, 154; Patrono, Conflitti (wie oben Fußnote 19), 47 – 83; O. Schilling, Die Staats- und Soziallehre des heiligen Augustinus. Freiburg i. Br. 1910, 148 – 149; O. Schilling, Naturrecht und Staat nach der Lehre der alten Kirche. Paderborn 1914, 210 – 211; H. von Schubert, Geschichte der christlichen Kirche im

Stelle zu weit führen, zumal diese Themen bereits verhältnismäßig gut erforscht sind.

Exkurs: Sekundärüberlieferung und Nachleben des Gesetzes[36]

Die drei zitierten Briefe Gregors stellen die einzigen Quellen für das Gesetz des Maurikios dar. Bei den übrigen Belegen handelt es sich entweder um sehr allgemein gehaltene Aussagen historiographischer Quellen, die möglicherweise (auch) auf das hier diskutierte Gesetz zurückgehen oder um Stellungnahmen, in denen ausführliche wörtliche Zitate aus den Briefen mit kurzen eigenen Meinungsäußerungen der späteren Autoren verknüpft werden.

Frühmittelalter. Ein Handbuch. Tübingen 1921, 196; Batiffol, S. Grégoire (wie oben Fußnote 15), 195–196; Caspar, Geschichte (wie oben Fußnote 15), 465–467; Fischer, Gregor (wie oben Fußnote 4), 57 und 62–67; Goubert, Byzance II, 2 (wie oben Fußnote 10), 129–139 (insbesondere 132–133); F. Dvornik, Constantinople and Rome, in J. M. Hussey (ed.), The Cambridge medieval history IV. The Byzantine empire, part 1. Byzantium and its neighbours. Cambridge 1966, 431–472: 438–440; Morrison, Tradition (wie oben Fußnote 33), 138–139; L. Magi, La sede romana nella corrispondenza degli imperatori e patriarchi bizantini (VI–VII sec.). Louvain 1972, 161–193; Richards, Popes (wie oben Fußnote 25), 174; T. K. Lounghis, Les ambassades byzantines en occident depuis la fondation des états barbares jusqu'aux croisades (407–1096). Athen 1980 (Diss. Paris 1972), 102–103; M. Reydellet, La royauté dans la littérature latine de Sidoine Apollinaire à Isidore de Séville. Rom 1981 (Diss. Paris 1977), 447–452 (insbesondere 447–448); C. Straw, Gregory the Great. Perfection in imperfection. Berkeley 1988, 251 mit Anm. 99; Modesto, Gregor (wie oben Fußnote 12), 121–128; C. Straw, Gregory's politics. Theory and practice, in: Gregorio Magno e il suo tempo. XIX incontro di studiosi dell'antichità cristiana in collaborazione con l'École Française de Rome, Roma, 9–12 maggio 1990 I. Studi storici. Rom 1991, 47–63: 55 mit Anm. 40 und Anm. 47 sowie 59 mit Anm. 72; R. Kisić, Patria Caelestis. Die eschatologische Dimension der Theologie Gregors des Großen. Tübingen 2011 (Diss. Münster 2010), 29 mit Anm. 120; Dal Santo, Gregory (wie oben Fußnote 26), 57–81. Die Schrift von G. Kraitschek, Der Sturz des Kaisers Maurikios. *Bericht über das VI. Vereinsjahr des akad. Vereins deutscher Historiker in Wien.* Wien 1896, 81–137 war mir nicht zugänglich und wurde mit nur aus der Rezension von O. Adamek in *BZ* 7 (1898) 188–190 bekannt, der ich S. 189 entnehme, dass Kraitschek in einem eigenen Abschnitt (119–137) das „oft recht unfreundliche Verhältnis" zwischen Maurikios und Gregor ausführlich schildert; Patrono, Conflitti (wie oben Fußnote 19) 62, Anm. 4 (zu S. 61) entnehme ich darüber hinaus, dass Kraitschek annimmt, Maurikios habe tatsächlich ein Gesetz Julians erneuert.

36 Der Brief an Maurikios wurde auch im Rahmen der Diskussion um die konstantinische Schenkung ausgewertet: Friedrich, Constantinische Schenkung (wie oben Fußnote 28), 128–131. Auf dieses vieldiskutierte Thema kann hier nicht näher eingegangen werden. Verwiesen sei zudem kurz auf die folgende Sammelhandschrift: H. Martin, Catalogue des manuscrits de la bibliothèque de l'Arsenal II. Paris 1886, 53 (713, Handschrift B).

In eine Reihe von Werken in griechischer und lateinischer Sprache erfährt man, dass der Tod des Maurikios durch ein Vorzeichen in Form eines Mannes in Mönchskleidung, der das Ableben des Kaisers voraussagte, angekündigt wurde.[37] Es wäre durchaus nicht undenkbar, dass das hier diskutierte Gesetz eines der Elemente ist, das zu dieser Erzählung geführt hat, doch lässt sich ein direkter Zusammenhang in Ermangelung entsprechender Quellen nicht beweisen. Das gilt ebenso für die Reuebekundungen des Maurikios in seinem letzten Regierungsjahr und seine Versuche, in jedem Kloster für ihn beten zu lassen, wie das Kedrenos (cap. 433,1; Bekker 704, 3–6 = Tartaglia II 675,7–10) berichtet.

Johannes Diaconus, der Verfasser einer zwischen 873 und 876 entstandenen Vita Gregorii, leitet seine Ausführungen zu diesem Thema (3,50,1) mit einer kurzen allgemeinen Charakteristik des *avarissimus simulque rapacissimus princeps* Maurikios ein und beschränkt sich ansonsten darauf, die Briefe Gregors in Teilen weitgehend unverändert (siehe die Konkordanz und die Liste der Abweichungen im Anhang) abzuschreiben.[38] Ivo von Chartres (11./12. Jh.) wiederum schreibt in seinem Decretum (10, 128–129; siehe auch 10,124) das Kapitel aus Johannes ab,[39] scheint die Zitate aus Gregors Briefen jedoch am Original überprüft zu haben, da Gregor und Ivo gegen Johannes in einigen Details übereinstimmen.

37 Theophylaktos Simokates 7,12; Theophanes Confessor AM 6093 (De Boor 283, 7–10); Anastasius Bibliothecarius, Chronographia tripertita (De Boor II, 174, 15–18); Otto von Freising, Chronica 5,7 (*MGH* SS rer. Germ. 45, 239, 9–13 = *MGH* SS 20, 218, 43–46), der das nunmehr in einen Traum verlegte Vorzeichen explizit mit der Verfolgung, die Gregor durch Maurikios erleiden musste, in Verbindung bringt. Siehe auch Theophanes Confessor AM 6079 (De Boor 260, 2) zur Charakteristik des Maurikios als gierig.

38 Ausführlich zur Bedeutung der Vita Gregorii des Johannes als Überlieferungszeuge für die Briefe Gregors handelt (neben den einleitenden Kapiteln der relevanten Editionen) W. M. Peitz, Das Register Gregors I. Beiträge zur Kenntnis des päpstlichen Kanzlei- und Registerwesens bis auf Gregor VII. Freiburg i. Br. 1917, 16–29. Der ausführlichste Beitrag zur Überlieferung der Briefe Gregors allgemein ist noch immer P. Ewald, Studien zur Ausgabe des Registers Gregors I. *Neues Archiv der Gesellschaft für ältere deutsche Geschichtskunde* 3 (1878) 429–625.

39 Dieser Autor scheint in der Diskussion um dieses Thema bislang vollkommen ignoriert worden zu sein: Der einzige Forscher, der überhaupt auf Ivo (jedoch nicht auf die wichtigsten Passagen) verweist, ist Damizia, Lineamenti (wie oben Fußnote 7), 112–113, Anm. 7. Für die übrigen Benutzer der Vita des Johannes scheint diese Angabe nicht von Interesse gewesen zu sein, siehe dazu die Zusammenstellung von H.-A. Wilhelmi, Die Vita Gregorii Magni des Johannes Diaconus. Schwerpunkte ihrer Wirkungsgeschichte. Neuried 1998 (Diss. Münster 1997) und speziell zur in Versen gefassten anonymen normannischen Vita Gregors O. Sandqvist, La vie de Saint Gregoire. Poème normand du XIV[e] siècle, publié avec introduction, notes et glossaire, Diss. Lund 1989, insbesondere 20–23 (Verwendung des Johannes bei dem Anonymus). Siehe allgemein noch C. J. Mews / C. Renkin, The legacy of Gregory the Great in the Latin West, in B. Neil/M. Dal Santo (eds.), A companion to Gregory the Great. Leiden 2013, 315–342 und A. Louth, Gregory the Great in the Byzantine tradition, ebd. 343–358.

Die Passage des Briefes über die Weiterversendung des Gesetzes trotz dessen Ablehnung (3, 61, 30 – 31) wurde auch im späten elften Jahrhundert während des Investiturstreits von beiden Seiten im Rahmen ihrer Argumentation angeführt.[40] Während Wenrich von Trier Gregor als positives Beispiel anführt, übt Manegold von Lautenbach Kritik an ihm; die gesamte Argumentation beider Autoren, im Rahmen derer das Verhalten Gregors nur ein Aspekt von vielen ist, kann hier nicht im Detail nachgezeichnet werden.

Julians Maßnahmen mit Bezug auf das Heer und die Christen

Vor den eigentlichen Ausführungen muss zunächst einem denkbaren Einwand begegnet werden: Bezieht sich das von Gregor angeführte Gesetz Julians tatsächlich auf die Bestimmung zu den Mönchen oder ist eine andere Bestimmung, gar eine christenfeindliche Gesetzgebung allgemein[41] gemeint? Letzteres kann ausgeschlossen werden, da aus den Worten Gregors (3, 64, 7) klar hervorgeht, dass Julian von Gregor nicht als aktuellster Fall einer christenfeindlichen Gesetzgebung allgemein, sondern als erster Beleg für eine mit dem kritisierten Gesetz inhaltlich vergleichbare konkrete legislative Maßnahme angeführt wird. Auch eine Bezugnahme auf die Kuriengesetzgebung Julians, die immerhin in einem Gregor bekannten Werk als christenfeindlich gedeutet wird,[42] fällt mit Blick auf Wortlaut und Struktur der Briefe als Option weg: In der Rede, die Gregor Christus in den Mund legt (3, 61, 17), wird kritisiert, dass Maurikios die Soldaten am Dienst an Gott hindere (3, 61, 19) und auch sonst erstreckt sich die Argumentation im Wesentlichen auf die Soldaten (3, 61, 22; 3, 61, 29), was sowohl vor als auch nach dem indirekten Hinweis auf Julian (3, 61, 24) stattfindet; für den Brief an Theodoros gilt

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40 Dazu Caspar, Geschichte (wie oben Fußnote 15), 467, Anm. 2 und K. Voigt, Staat und Kirche von Konstantin dem Großen bis zum Ende der Karolingerzeit. Stuttgart 1936, 84 Anm. 32. Siehe noch zur Bedeutung Gregors für seinen gleichnamigen Nachfolger in dieser Zeit: W. Wühr, Studien zu Gregor VII. Kirchenreform und Weltpolitik. München 1930, 85 – 104.

41 Dal Santo, Gregory (wie oben Fußnote 26), 74, der die Aussage Gregors so zusammenfasst: „Arguing that no emperor since the reviled Julian the Apostate (361 – 3) had enacted legislation so inimical to the interests of God […]".

42 Cassiod. hist. trip. 6,7,2. Auf Gregors Kenntnis dieses Werkes hat kürzlich C. C. Berardi, Linee di storiografia ecclesiastica in Sozomeno di Gaza. Bari 2016, 110 – 113 hingewiesen; siehe zur Nachwirkung der Historia tripartita Cassiodors in der Zeit kurz nach ihrer Abfassung jetzt auch L. Van Hoof / P. Van Nuffelen, The historiography of crisis: Jordanes, Cassiodorus and Justinian in mid-sixth-century Constantinople. *JRS* 107 (2017) 275 – 300: 283 – 290.

dasselbe. Zuletzt begrüßt Gregor ja gerade die erste Bestimmung im Gesetz des Maurikios (3, 61, 5), die am ehesten Schnittmengen mit der in der Historiographie belegten Gesetzgebung Julians aufweist, so dass eine Bezugnahme auf Julians Kuriengesetzgebung seinem Argument nur schaden könnte. Den einzigen sinnvollen Ansatzpunkt stellt also die dritte Bestimmung über den (nunmehr verbotenen) Klostereintritt von Soldaten dar.

Bei der Durchsicht der Berichte der Quellen ergeben sich drei Feststellungen: Erstens hat dieses Gesetz vor dem Brief Gregors keinen Niederschlag in den Quellen gefunden. Zweitens spielt das Mönchtum in den erhaltenen Schriften und Regierungshandlungen Julians keine Rolle.[43] Drittens verläuft die Julian durch die christlichen Autoren zugeschriebene Politik gerade in die umgekehrte Richtung: Nach der christlichen Überlieferung war es gerade nicht das Ziel Julians, die Christen zum Heeresdienst zu zwingen, sondern vielmehr, Christen im Heer entweder zu entlassen oder zum Heidentum zu bekehren.[44] Will man also nicht ge-

43 Die einzigen Ausnahmen sind zwei kurze Äußerungen der Kritik am Mönchtum bei Iul. ep. 48 Weis = 89b Bidez = Wright II, 296 (288BC) und Iul. or. 7,18 (224B); in beiden Fällen handelt es sich allerdings nur um kurze Bemerkungen im Rahmen einer Schrift, die am Mönchtum selbst nicht interessiert ist und andere Ziele verfolgt (Regeln für die heidnische Priesterschaft, Stellungnahme gegen die Kyniker). Neben den zwei ausführlicher zu diskutierenden Episoden bei Sulpicius Severus und Rufinus finden sich daneben nur vereinzelte Berichte über das Mönchtum unter Julian, die aufgrund ihres allgemeinen Charakters und des Fehlens jeglichen Bezuges zum Heer aber für die hier diskutierte Frage unergiebig sind: Orosius 7, 30, 5 berichtet von dem Plan Julians, ein Amphitheater in Jerusalem errichten zu lassen, in dem nach seiner Rückkehr aus Persien alle Mönche wilden Tieren vorgeworfen werden sollen. Auf eine ähnliche Tradition könnte die Angabe von Georgios Monachos 4, 191, 10 (De Boor/Wirth 546, 5 – 20 = *PG* 110, 671) und Kedrenos (cap. 318, 3; Bekker 526, 12 – 527, 2 = Tartaglia II 525, 48 – 526,53) zurückgehen, laut denen Julian als Folge eines Orakelspruches, der durch den Mönch Publius verhindert wird, verkündet, nach seiner Rückkehr das Mönchtum auszurotten. Hieronymus, Vita Hilarionis 23, 6 (Morales/Leclerc 276) = 33 (*PL* 23,46) weiß von der Zerstörung des Klosters des Hilarion durch die Einwohner der Stadt Gaza nach Herrschaftsantritt Julians zu berichten; dass es laut Hieronymus die Stadt Gaza ist, die in einem Gesuch an den Kaiser den Tod des Hilarion und seines Schülers Hesychius fordert, spricht gegen eine auf eine Anweisung Julians zurückgehende Aktion ebenso wie die Tatsache, dass Julian in den weiteren Mönchsviten nicht oder nur zur chronologischen Einordnung genannt wird: Vita Hilarionis 24, 1 (M/L 278) = 34 (PL 23, 47) und 29, 1 (M/L 286) = 40 (PL 23, 49). Palladius, Historia Lausiaca 45, 1 (45, 2 in der lateinischen Fassung: Wellhausen 641) gibt an, Julian habe den Mönch Philoromus, der ihm freimütig seine Meinung sagte, scheren und durch junge Sklaven verprügeln lassen. Auf die in späteren christlichen Quellen (frühe Beispiele sind etwa Palladios und Theodoret) behaupteten Vorzeichen und Vorahnungen des Todes Julians durch Mönche im Einzelnen einzugehen, erübrigt sich.

44 Greg. Naz. Or. 4, 65 (7000 Konfessoren; bei dem Julianroman [Noeldeke 274] und Mich. Syr. Chron. 7,5 [Chabot 281] sind es bereits 22000 entlassene Soldaten); 4, 66 (Beseitigung christlicher Symbolik im Heer, anders der Juliansroman [Noeldeke 278]); 4, 82 – 84 (verlangt Weih-

rade annehmen, dass die christlichen Autoren durchgehend auf die Möglichkeit verzichtet hätten, Maßnahmen Julians zur zwangsweisen Eingliederung von Christen in das Heer vollends zu verschweigen, um stattdessen wider besseren Wissens den umgekehrten Argumentationsweg einzuschlagen, verbleibt also nur die Schlussfolgerung, dass das von Gregor erwähnte Gesetz Julians unhistorisch ist.

Daran ändert auch die einzige Stellungnahme für die Historizität nichts, die von Detlef Liebs stammt: „Zwar sind die genannten Bestimmungen Julians nicht überliefert, aber auch vom Gesetz des Mauricius wissen wir nur durch Gregors Briefe. An Gregors Gewissenhaftigkeit zu zweifeln besteht ebensowenig Anlaß wie an der Richtigkeit der Auskunft seiner juristischen Gewährsleute, geben uns die Codices doch nur ein sehr lückenhaftes Bild von Julians Gesetzgebung … Zumal seine Gesetze gegen Bevorzugung der Christen wurden alsbald wieder aufgehoben und vom CTh ausgeschlossen, so daß im 16. Buch kein einziges Gesetz von Julian vorkommt.“[45]

Gegen Liebs spricht, dass Gregor ein Zeitgenosse des Maurikios ist und in seinem Brief an ebenjenen Kaiser diesem wohl kaum ein Gesetz unterschieben würde, das dieser nie erlassen hat. Allenfalls könnte man vielleicht annehmen, Gregor hätte ein anderslautendes Gesetz des Maurikios missverstanden – aber selbst dann hätte das Gesetz zumindest eine historische Grundlage. Das angebliche Gesetz Julians dagegen wird erst mehr als zwei Jahrhunderte nach seiner Regierung überliefert und steht einer vollkommen entgegengesetzten und zeitlich näher an Julian befindlichen Überlieferung gegenüber. Zum Codex Theodosianus ist darauf hinzuweisen – abgesehen davon, dass ein solches Gesetz auch im

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rauchopfer vor Donativ, ebenso Soz. HE 5, 17, 8 – 12 = Theod. Anagn. epit. 137 = Cassiod. hist. trip. 6, 30, 5 – 10; Theod. HE 3, 17, 1 – 8 = Cassiod. hist. trip. 6, 30, 11 – 15); Soz. HE 5, 17, 1 = Cassiod. hist. trip. 6, 30, 2 (bemüht sich um Konversion des Heeres); Chron. Pasch. Ann. 363 (Dindorf 548,12 – 15); Theoph. Conf. AM 5855 (De Boor 50, 34 – 36) (verführt oder zwingt Soldaten zur Apostasie). Laut einigen (unzuverlässigen) Berichten verbat Julian den Christen den Militärdienst per Gesetz: Rufin. HE 10,33; Theod. HE 3,8,2 = Cassiod. hist. trip. 6, 17, 1; Georg. Mon. 4, 191,5 (De Boor/Wirth II 541, 20 – 542,2 = *PG* 110, 668); siehe auch Ioh. Chrys. In Iuv. et Max. 1 (PG 50, 573). Nur teilweise widerspricht dem Ioh. Chrys. Babyl. 121, wonach Julian nur wenige christliche Soldaten aus dem Heer ausschloss, da die Armee sonst zu schwach gewesen wäre; die Abweichung liegt hier nicht in der Grundlinie der Politik, sondern in ihrem Ausmaß. Einige Maßnahmen sind in ihren Grundlagen durch Lib. Or. 18, 168 bezeugt. Dass aber die von den Kirchenhistorikern berichteten Maßnahmen in jedem Fall zu relativieren sind, beweist Julians eigenes Zeugnis von der Jahreswende 361/362 (!) (Iul. ep. 21 Weis = 26 Bidez = 8 Wright [415C]), wonach zu dieser Zeit ein großer Teil des Heeres heidnisch war. Für den gut belegten Spezialfall des angeblichen Konfessorentums des späteren Kaisers Valentinian I. siehe N. E. Lenski, Were Valentinian, Valens and Jovian confessors before Julian the Apostate? *ZAC* 6 (2002) 253 – 276.

45 Liebs, Jurisprudenz (wie oben Fußnote 15), 127 und 128, Anm. 6.

siebten Buch denkbar wäre –, dass dessen Aufnahmekriterien nicht immer ganz durchsichtig sind: Nicht auflösbare Widersprüche zwischen einzelnen Gesetzen desselben Titels (etwa CTh 8,1,8 und 11; 8,5,12–13; 12,13,1–2; 16,3,1–2) belegen einerseits die Berücksichtigung von Bestimmungen, die zum Zeitpunkt der Kodifikation nicht mehr gültig waren, während andererseits manches (nicht immer ungültige) Gesetz nicht berücksichtigt wurde (so etwa die nur indirekt belegten Gesetze Julians aus CTh 5,15,17; 7,7,2; 8,4,9; 10,4,2; 12,1,96; 13,5,16 und 16,5,37). Zuletzt wurden mit dem Schulgesetz CTh 13,3,5 und der Bestimmung zu christlichen Dekurionen CTh 12,1,50 auch Maßnahmen in den Codex aufgenommen, die zumindest von der christlichen Überlieferung als christenfeindlich eingeschätzt wurden.

Die belegten Einzelfälle der Zwangsrekrutierung von Christen/Mönchen unter Julian

Aus der deutlichen Zielrichtung der christlichen Vorwürfe geht hervor, dass ein allgemeines Gesetz, mit dem Julian Mönche oder andere christliche Gruppen zum Militärdienst verpflichtete, nicht existiert haben kann. Allerdings sind zwei Episoden aus seiner Regierungszeit bekannt, die ein etwas anderes Bild zeichnen. Es stellt sich also die Frage, welchen Wert diese Berichte als Zeugnisse einerseits für den historischen Julian und andererseite als mögliche Einflussfaktoren auf Gregor haben.

Das vierte Kapitel der Vita Martini des Sulpicius Severus berichtet (Halm 114,7–115,2; Fontaine 260,1–262,2):

> *(1) Interea inruentibus intra Gallias barbaris, Iulianus Caesar, coacto in unum exercitu apud Vangionum civitatem, donativum coepit erogare militibus, et, ut est consuetudinis, singuli citabantur, donec ad Martinum ventum est. (2) Tum vero oportunum tempus existimans, quo peteret missionem – neque enim integrum sibi fore arbitrabatur, si donativum non militaturus acciperet –, (3) hactenus, inquit ad Caesarem, militavi tibi; patere ut nunc militem Deo. Donativum tuum pugnaturus accipiat; Christi ego miles sum: pugnare mihi non licet. (4) Tum vero adversus hanc vocem tyrannus infremuit dicens, eum metu pugnae, quae postero die erat futura, non religionis gratia detractare militiam. (5) At Martinus intrepidus, immo inlato sibi terrore constantior: si hoc, inquit, ignaviae adscribitur, non fidei, crastina die ante aciem inermis adstabo et in nomine Domini Iesu, signo crucis, non clipeo protectus aut galea, hostium cuneos penetrabo securus. (6) Retrudi ergo in custodiam iubetur, facturus fidem dictis, ut inermis barbaris obiceretur. (7) Postero die hostes legatos de pace miserunt, sua omnia seque dedentes. Unde quis dubitet hanc vere beati viri fuisse victoriam, cui praestitum sit, ne inermis ad proelium mitteretur. (8) Et quamvis pius Dominus servare militem suum licet inter hostium gladios et tela potuisset, tamen, ne vel aliorum mortibus sancti violarentur obtutus, exemit*

pugnae necessitatem. (9) Neque enim aliam pro milite suo Christus debuit praestare victoriam, quam ut, subactis sine sanguine hostibus, nemo moreretur.

(1) Als zwischenzeitlich Barbaren in Gallien eingefallen waren, begann der Caesar Julian, nachdem er das Heer an eine Stelle bei der Stadt der Vangionen zusammengeführt hatte, an die Soldaten ein Donativ auszugeben und es wurden, so wie es Gewohnheit ist, die Einzelnen aufgerufen, bis man endlich bei Martinus anlangte. (2) Dieser aber erachtete das als günstigen Zeitpunkt, um seine Entlassung zu erbitten; er war nämlich der Ansicht, nicht mehr unbescholten zu sein, wenn er als jemand, der nicht mehr im Heer dienen würde, das Donativ annähme. (3) So sprach er zu dem Caesar: „Bis heute habe ich dir als Soldat gedient; nun stehe ich Gott als Soldat zur Verfügung. Dein Donativ möge derjenige annehmen, der in den Kampf ziehen wird; ich bin ein Soldat Christi, mir ist es nicht erlaubt zu kämpfen." (4) Gegen diese Rede aber schnaubte der Tyrann vor Wut und sagte, dass er [= Martinus] sich aus Furcht vor der Schlacht, die am nächsten Tag erfolgen sollte, nicht aufgrund seiner Religion vom Heeresdienst zurückziehe. (5) Dagegen aber blieb Martinus unverzagt, ja er wurde vielmehr beständiger gegenüber der Furcht, die ihm eingejagt werden sollte. „Wenn dies", sagte er, „der Feigheit zugeschrieben wird, nicht aber dem Glauben, dann werde ich mich am morgigen Tag unbewaffnet vor die Schlachtreihe stellen und im Namen des Herrn Jesus mit dem Zeichen des Kreuzes, nicht geschützt durch einen Schild oder einen Helm, werde ich die Schlachtreihe der Feinde durchbrechen." (6) Daher wurde befohlen, ihn unter Bewachung zu halten, damit er zu dem Gesagten stünde, dass er sich unbewaffnet den Barbaren entgegenstelle. (7) Am folgenden Tag schickten die Barbaren Gesandte für einen Friedensschluss, sie ergaben sich mit all ihrem Besitz. Wer würde daher zweifeln, dieser Sieg sei wirklich (eine Tat) des heiligen Mannes, dem gewährt wurde, dass er nicht unbewaffnet in die Schlacht geschickt wurde. (8) Und auch wenn der gnädige Gott zugegebenermaßen seinen Soldaten inmitten der Schwerter und Wurfgeschosse hätte bewahren können, entzog er ihm dennoch, damit nicht durch die Tode Anderer der Blick des Heiligen gekränkt werde, die Notwendigkeit einer Schlacht. (9) Christus musste nämlich nicht für seinen Soldaten einen anderen Sieg gewährleisten, als dass durch die Unterwerfung der Feinde ohne Blutvergießen niemand starb.

Zunächst einmal kann die Geschichte in dieser Form nicht historisch sein, da Julian bis zum Tod des Constantius II. eine christliche Selbstdarstellung praktizierte (Hil. Pictav. ad Const. 2,1–2; Amm. 21,2,4–5). Aber selbst mit Blick darauf, dass die antiken und mittelalterlichen Leser der Vita Martini vermutlich vom Gegenteil ausgingen, ist ein Vorbildcharakter dieser Erzählung für die Angabe Gregors ausgeschlossen: Erstens berichtet Sulpicius Serverus von einem Einzelfall, nicht von einem allgemeinen Gesetz; zweitens wird an dieser Stelle nicht auf Mönche eingegangen; drittens wird durch Julian mit der bevorstehenden Schlacht ein konkreter Weigerungsgrund vorgebracht, nach dessen Wegfall Martinus dann die Entlassung aus dem Militärdienst gewährt wird (Sulp. Sev. 5,1: *Exinde relicta milita*...).

Die zweite Ausnahme bildet die Historia monachorum des Rufinus (7,3,2; Schulz-Flügel 289):[46]

> *Cumque his et aliis verbis roboraret animos adolescentis, supervenit centurio et indignatus, cur introire ausus sit, claves extrinsecus carceri inposuit, ipsumque et omnes qui cum eo venerant, pariter conclusit, quo scilicet etiam ipsi similiter ad militiae detinerentur officium, constituens quoque custodes quam plurimos abscessit.*
>
> Als er [= Apollonius] mit diesen und anderen Worten die Lebensgeister des jungen Mannes [im Gefängnis] stärkte, kam der Centurio hinzu und da er darüber empört war, dass er [= Apollonius] es gewagt hatte, einzutreten, legte er dem Kerker von außen die Riegel vor. Ihn selbst [= Apollonius] und alle, die mit ihm gekommen waren, sperrte er (so) gleichermaßen ein, damit sie nämlich ebenso zur Ausübung des Militärdienstes in Beschlag genommen werden sollten. Er stellte (daher) auch zahlreiche Wachposten auf, als er sich entfernte.

Dass Gregor sich auf diese Erzählung bezieht, ist ebenfalls unwahrscheinlich; es sind mehr Unterschiede als Gemeinsamkeiten auszumachen: So spricht Gregor von einem allgemeinen Gesetz Julians und beruft sich dafür auf (mehrere) Rechtskundige, während Rufinus eine vereinzelte Episode über die (eigenmächtige?) Initiative eines Centurio[47] berichtet, von der er nicht behauptet, dass sie repräsentativ für das Vorgehen der julianischen Militäradministration sei, wie es ansonsten zu erwarten wäre; Julian wird zwar negativ (*tyrannus*), aber dennoch nur beiläufig als chronologische Angabe genannt (7,2,4; 7,3,1).

Mit der Schrift *de virginitate* des Aldhelmus (cap. 38; Ehwald 288,4–6; Gwara 557,33–38) existiert dazu noch eine spätere Paralelelquelle:

> *Hic aliquando, cum Iulianus, qui tyrannidem et apostasiam pariter arripuit, non modo in clericali gradu constitutos, sed etiam monachica professione fungentes ad militiae cingulum cogeret, [a centurione add. Gwara] in ergastuli latibulum truditur.*
>
> Übersetzung: Dieser [= Apollonius] wurde einst, weil Julian, der sich Tyrannenherrschaft und Apostasie gleichermaßen angeeignet hatte, nicht nur die im priesterlichen Stand Befindlichen, sondern auch die die mönchische Lebensweise Vollziehenden zum Gurt des Militärdienstes zwang, [Gwara: von dem Centurio] in die Unterkunft der Sträflinge gesteckt.

46 Diese Geschichte findet sich auch in der griechischen Fassung, der Historia monachorum in Aegypto (8,11; Festugière 50); die vorhandenen Abweichungen beschränken sich auf Details und übersetzungsbedingte Aspekte, etwa χιλίαρχος statt *centurio*. Allerdings wäre bei größeren Abweichungen ohnehin davon auszugehen, dass die lateinische Fassung im frühmittelalterlichen Rom die bekanntere wäre.

47 Zu den verwaltungsgeschichtlichen Hintergründen kurz D. Woods, Some addenda to PLRE. *Historia* 42 (1993) 122–125: Nr. 18 (S. 125).

Da Aldhelmus als Autor des späteren siebten Jahrhunderts nach Gregor schrieb, kann die Angabe Gregors nicht auf ihn zurückgehen. Sein Bericht ist von Interesse, da er auf die oben genannte Stelle bei Rufinus zurückgeht. Da aus der vereinzelten Episode bei Rufinus eine allgemeine Richtlinie bei Aldhelmus wird, könnte somit die dahinterstehende Traditionslinie die mögliche Fehlerquelle für Gregors Angabe bieten. Allerdings erscheint es unwahrscheinlich, dass Gregor sich direkt auf Rufinus (oder eine von diesem abhängige Quelle) stützt, da er dann vermutlich das Beispiel des Mönches Apollonius herangezogen hätte. Allerdings ist durchaus denkbar, dass die bei Aldhelmus belegte Umdeutung im Endeffekt auf dieselbe Quelle zurückgeht wie die Angabe Gregors. Da aber die christlichen Autoren des vierten bis sechsten Jahrhunderts keine mögliche Vorlage dafür bieten, muss die Lösung an anderer Stelle zu finden sein.

Valens und seine Mönchsgesetzgebung: Der Schlüssel zum Verständnis der Angabe Gregors?

Julian hat also nie ein derartiges Gesetz zu den Mönchen erlassen[48] und auch die Menge der erhaltenen antijulianischen Polemik bietet keine entsprechenden In-

48 So aber N. E. Lenski, Valens and the monks. Cudgeling and conscription as a means of social control. *DOP* 58 (2004) 93 – 117, hier 101, Anm. 49, der sich allerdings nicht auf die (ihm unbekannte) Stelle bei Gregor, sondern auf die diesen Schluss nicht zulassende Mönchserzählung über Apollonius bezieht. Die auch von Lenski herangezogene Stelle Soz. HE 5, 4, 4 kann nicht mit „military conscription" bezeichnet werden, sondern scheint sich auf die Zivilverwaltung zu beziehen – so R. Haensch, Capita provinciarum. Mainz 1997 (Diss. Köln 1990), der 26 mit Anm. 48 von einer Zwangsverpflichtung für das *officium* des Statthalters ausgeht –; in jedem Fall ist sie alles andere als eindeutig. Der weiterhin von Lenski zitierte Brief Julians (Iul. ep. 205 Bidez/Cumont = 81 Wright = Basil. ep. 40) hat keinen Quellenwert, da es sich nach allgemeiner Ansicht um eine Fälschung handelt; am ausführlichsten dazu: U.W. Knorr, Basilius der Große. Sein Beitrag zur christlichen Durchdringung Kleinasiens. Diss. Tübingen 1968, I 53 – 62 mit II 51 – 55; und F. Fatti, Dai quaderni di Nicobulo. Sull'autore „bizantino" di Ps.-Bas. Epp. 40 – 41 e sulle strane amicizie di Basilio: *Antiquité tardive* 17 (2009) 251 – 268; weiterhin S. A. Naber, Epistula critica ad Allardum Piersonum de Iuliano. *Mnemosyne* N.S. 11 (1883) 387 – 410: 400; W. Schwarz, Julianstudien. *Philologus* 51/N.F. 5 (1892) 623 – 653: 624 – 625; J. Dräseke, Der Verfasser des fälschlich Justinus beigelegten Λόγος παραινετικὸς πρὸς Ἕλληνας. *ZKG* 7 (1885) 257 – 302: 279; Imp. Caesaris Flavii Claudii Iuliani Epistulae leges poematia fragmenta varia collegerunt recensuerunt I. Bidez et F. Cvmont. Paris 1922, 282: „Spurias esse has litteras nullus est hodie qui neget" (das Exemplar der Bibliothek des Historicums in München weist zudem folgende Randnotiz eines früheren Besitzers auf: „Naber 400 ridicula epistula richtiges Urteil"); The works of the emperor Julian with an English translation by W.C. Wright III. London 1923, 285 – 286, Anm. 1; R. Pouchet, Basile le Grand et son univers d'amis d'après sa correspondence.

formationen. Stattdessen ist aber eine andere Deutung möglich: Was Gregor meint, sind die (entweder als rhetorischer Effekt oder aufgrund einer Verwechslung) unter Julians Namen angeführten Maßnahmen des Valens gegen die Mönche. Zwei im Mittelalter als Informationsvermittler besonders bedeutende Werke, die Chronik des Hieronymus und das Geschichtswerk des Orosius, berichten nämlich von einem Gesetz des Valens, das Mönche zum Kriegsdienst verpflichtete.[49]
Hier. Chron. 248b (Helm 248):

> *Valens lege data, ut monachi militarent, nolentes fustibus iussit interfici.*
>
> Valens erließ ein Gesetz, laut dem die Mönche Militärdienst leisten sollten, und er befahl, die Unwilligen mit Knütteln zu töten.

Oros. 7, 33, 1 (Zangemeister 515 – 516)

> *Ilico velut effrenata libertatis audacia legem dedit, ut monachi, hoc est Christiani qui ad unum fidei opus dimissa saecularium rerum multimoda actione se redigunt, ad militiam cogerentur.* (7, 33, 2 – 4 Verlauf und Folgen des Gesetzes)
>
> Alsbald, wie durch die entfesselte Frechheit durch die Freiheit [von Valentinians Autorität], erließ er [= Valens] ein Gesetz, dass Mönche, also Christen, die sich in die Lage versetzen, nach Aufgabe der vielfachen Verrichtung der weltlichen Dinge als einzige Beschäftigung die mit dem Glauben zu leisten, zum Militärdienst zu berufen seien.

Daneben existieren einige Berichte, die Hieronymus und/oder Orosius abschreiben und daher keinen eigenständigen Quellenwert besitzen,[50] aber durch das

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Rom 1992, 174; J. Vanderspoel, Correspondence and correspondents of Julius Julianus. *Byzantion* 69 (1999) 396 – 478: 468 – 469. Etwas anders A. C. Way, The authenticity of letter 41 in the Julio-Basilian correspondence. *American Journal of Philology* 51 (1930) 67 – 69, die den Brief als echt, aber nicht an den Kirchenvater Basilios gerichtet ansieht. Eine Zurückweisung der Argumentation Knorrs bei H. Ch. Brennecke, Studien zur Geschichte der Homöer. Der Osten bis zum Ende der homöischen Reichskirche. Tübingen 1988 (Habil.-Schr. Tübingen 1986), 98 Anm. 10 und S. K. Elm, Sons of Hellenism, Fathers of the Church. Emperor Julian, Gregory of Nazianzus, and the vision of Rome. Berkeley 2012, 57 Anm. 156. Der relevanteste Vertreter einer Echtheit des Briefes und der Identifikation des Adressaten mit Basilios von Caesarea ist J. Geffcken, Kaiser Julianus. Leipzig 1914, 101 mit 161 – 162.

49 Eventuell damit identisch ist das von Sokr. 4, 24, 1 = Cassiod. hist. trip. 8, 7, 1 erwähnte Gesetz des Valens, das sich vor allem gegen die Mönche Ägyptens richtete.

50 Prosper Tiro, Epitoma chronicon 1156 (Chron. min. I 459); Chronica Gallica anni DXI cap. 502 (Chron. min. I 644); Beda, Chronica maiora 449 (Chron. min. III 298, siehe auch III 339); Iordanes, Romana 312 (MGH AA 5/1, 40, 10 – 11); Paulus Diaconus, Historia Romana 11, 8 (MGH SS rer. Germ. 49, 92, 2, 20 – 21 = MGH AA 2, 187, 1 – 2); Pseudo-Alfred, altenglische Orosiusübersetzung zur Stelle (Sweet 288 – 290); Landolfus Sagax 12, 11 (Crivellucci I, 317, 4 – 11); Herimannus

Aufgreifen und Tradieren dieser Angabe deren Kenntnis und Weitervermittlung in den folgenden Jahrhunderten bezeugen.

Ob das Gesetz des Valens in dieser Form jemals existiert hat, ist für die hier gebotene Argumentation nicht von Relevanz.[51] Von Bedeutung ist, dass diese Notiz mit ihrer Aufnahme in die genannten Geschichtswerke und ihrem Fortleben in der späteren Tradition als glaubwürdig und der Überlieferung wert angesehen wurde. Ebenfalls wichtig ist, dass es sich bei den Geschichtswerken von Orosius und Hieronymus um zwei der im Mittelalter einflussreichsten und am häufigsten rezipierten Quellen handelt,[52] so dass davon ausgegangen werden kann, dass diese Angabe auch über einen hohen Bekanntheitsgrad verfügte.

Augiensis, Chronicon ann. 376 (MGH SS 5, 80, 13); Bernoldus, Chronicon (MGH SS 5, 408, 53); Marianus Scottus, Chronicon (MGH SS 5, 529, 52); Ekkehard, Chronicon Wirziburgense (MGH SS 6, 22, 55 – 56); Hugo, Chronicon I (MGH SS 8, 302, 34 – 35); Annales Mellicenses ann. 376 (MGH SS 9, 489, 56 – 57); Annales Zwetlenses ann. 376 (MGH SS 9, 678, 46 – 47); Otto von Freising, Chronica 4, 15 (MGH SS rer. Germ. 45, 201, 23 – 24 = MGH SS 20, 203, 4 – 5), der hinzufügt, dass Valens das Gesetz *Arrianorum* [...] *errore deceptus* erließ; Gottfried von Viterbo, Speculum regum 41 (MGH SS 22, 83, 45); Gottfried von Viterbo, Pantheon 11 (MGH SS 22, 183, 3 – 4); Martin von Troppau, Chronicon (MGH SS 22, 453, 3 – 4); Sicardus von Cremona, Cronica (MGH SS 31, 125, 24 – 25); Albertus Milioli, Liber de temporibus (MGH SS 31, 395, 29). M. Simonetti, Sulla cronologia di Commodiano. *Aevum* 27 (1953) 227 – 239: 232 verweist auf eine Passage bei Commodianus, die sprachlich an diese Stelle bei Orosius angelehnt ist.

51 Lenski, Monks (wie oben Fußnote 48), 93 – 94, Anm. 4 bietet eine Zusammenstellung der Forscher, die sich gegen die Glaubwürdigkeit dieser Nachricht aussprechen und argumentiert für die Historizität des Gesetzes (so zuvor, allerdings mit deutlich knapperer Argumentation: E. Stein, Geschichte des spätrömischen Reiches I. Wien 1928, 230 mit Anm. 3 = Histoire du Bas-Empire I. Paris 1959, 149 mit 494 Anm. 107); siehe allgemein auch kurz N. E. Lenski, Valens and the fourth century empire, Diss. Princeton 1995, 549 – 552 (Anhang 5: Isaac and military monks) und N. E. Lenski, Failure of empire. Valens and the Roman state in the fourth century A.D. Berkeley 2002 (Diss. Princeton 1995), 316 mit Anm. 317; der Argumentation Lenskis folgt J. M. Gaddis, There is no crime for those who have Christ. Religious violence in the Christian Roman empire, Diss. Princeton 1999, 233 – 235 = Berkeley 2005, 231 – 232. J. Day / S. B. Porges, Financial transactions of Aurelia Titoueis. *American Journal of Philology* 81 (1960) 157 – 175: 172 – 173 mit 173, Anm. 29 nehmen an, dass, ausgehend von der doppelten Bedeutung des Begriffes *militia* als Dienst im Heer und öffentliche Tätigkeit allgemein, durch die christlichen Autoren ein möglichst negatives Bild der Situation gezeichnet und somit ein historischer Kern übertrieben dargestellt wurde. Für weitere Quellen und Literatur zu den Rekrutierungsmaßnahmen des Valens allgemein siehe noch Brendel, Kaiser Julians Gesetzgebungswerk (wie oben Fußnote 0), 295 – 301.

52 Dies bezeugt zunächst die große Zahl der Handschriften, dazu J. M. Bately / D. J. A. Ross, A check list of manuscripts of Orosius „Historiarum adversum paganos libri septem". *Scriptorium* 15 (1961) 329 – 334 (fast 250 Handschriften). Eine vergleichbare Liste für Hieronymus scheint nicht zu existieren und die Edition von R. Helm spricht nur beiläufig von den „zahlreichen sonst erhaltenen" Handschriften (S. XV), doch spricht der umfangreiche Index der Parallelstellen (279 – 455), der für diese Zeit vor allem direkte oder indirekte Benutzer umfasst, eine deutliche Sprache.

Einem möglichen Einwand ist noch zu begegnen: Ist es wirklich denkbar, dass eine Zwangsrekrutierung von Mönchen auf eine Ebene mit der Forderung, dass Soldaten zunächst ihre Dienstzeit zu absolvieren haben, gestellt wird? Hier genügt ein Blick auf die Rhetorik Gregors, für den das Gesetz des Maurikios in einer nicht zu relativierenden Weise gegen Gott gerichtet ist (3, 61, 10; 3, 61, 14; 3, 61, 20; 3, 61, 30) und sogar als die einzige Sünde des Kaisers bezeichnet wird, die ohne einen Widerruf nicht vergeben werden kann (3, 61, 27). Sowohl die Maßnahme des Valens als auch die des Maurikios werden also von kirchlicher Seite als nicht nur unzulässiger, sondern regelrecht grausamer Eingriff in das Leben der Mönche in Zusammenhang mit den Bedürfnissen des Heeres angesehen.

Wie aber kann es nun zu einer Verwechslung zwischen Julian und Valens kommen? Dass Julian und Valens parallel als Verfolger des (orthodoxen) Christentums auftreten konnten, beweist eine Angabe des Theophanes Confessor (AM 6253, De Boor 432, 16 – 19):

> Τῷ δ' αὐτῷ ἔτει Κωνσταντῖνος ὁ διώκτης Ἀνδρέαν, τὸν ἀοίδιμον μοναχόν, τὸν λεγόμενον Καλυβίτην, ἐν Βλαχέρναις διὰ μαστίγων ἐν τῷ ἱππικῷ τοῦ ἁγίου Μάμαντος ἀπέκτεινεν ἐλέγχοντα αὐτοῦ τὴν ἀσέβειαν καὶ Οὐάλεντα νέον καὶ Ἰουλιανὸν ἀποκαλοῦντα αὐτόν.

Diese Notiz findet sich in leicht entstellter Form[53] auch in der von Theophanes abhängigen Chronographia Tripertita des Anastasius Bibliothecarius (De Boor II 284, 11 – 14):

> *Eodem quoque anno et Constantinus persecutor Andream memorabilem monachum, qui dicebatur Calybites, apud Blachernas flagris in hippodromio sancti Mamae peremit, redarguentem impietatem eius, et Valentinianistam [sic!] ac Iulianum appellantem eum.*
>
> In demselben Jahr vernichtete der Verfolger Konstantin (V.) den denkwürdigen Mönch Andreas, der Kalybites genannt wurde, bei Blachernai im Hippodrom des heiligen Mamas durch die Verbrennung; dieser [= Andreas] hatte dessen Gottlosigkeit unumstößlich dargelegt und ihn einen neuen Valens und Julian genannt.[54]

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53 Dass Anastasius „ein abweichender Text“ vorlag, wie I. Rochow, Byzanz im 8. Jahrhundert in der Sicht des Theophanes. Berlin 1991, 177 annimmt, ist möglich, allerdings erscheint eine Verschreibung durch eine Zusammenziehung zweier Wörter (Οὐάλεντα νέον zu *Valentinianistam*) wahrscheinlicher, zumal zwar Anastasius frühe Korruptelen im Theophanestext übernommen hat – dazu C. de Boor, Zu Theodorus Lector. *ZKG* 6 (1884) 573 – 577: 574 –, jedoch keine der Handschriften des Theophanes eine solche Verschreibung aufweist (siehe De Boors Apparat zur Stelle).
54 Zu dieser Episode siehe etwa I. Rochow, Kaiser Konstantin V. (741 – 775). Materialien zu seinem Leben und Nachleben. Frankfurt a. M. 1994, 61 mit Anm. 92; *PmbZ* # 398 (s.v. Andreas

Es besteht also in einem Geschichtswerk des neunten Jahrhunderts[55] kein Problem darin, die beiden Kaiser parallel als Maßstab für gegen das Christentum gerichtete Handlungen heranzuziehen, was auch an einigen anderen Stellen belegt ist[56] In Anbetracht dessen, dass beide Kaiser bereits in zeitnaher christlicher Literatur ähnlich ungünstig beurteilt werden und trotz mancher Ausnahme insgesamt eine konstant negative Beurteilung erfahren, wird man dies somit auch für die Jahrhunderte davor als wahrscheinlich ansehen können.

Somit sind zwei Tatsachen festzuhalten: 1) Valens erließ laut christlicher Tradition ein Gesetz, das Mönche zum Kriegsdienst verpflichtete, welches in zwei Werken genannt wird, die im Mittelalter eine umfangreiche Verbreitung und Rezeption erfuhren. 2) Es ist eine gelegentliche parallele Nennung von Julian und Valens als Verfolger des Christentums belegt. Kombiniert man diese beiden

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Kalybites) und S. TROVATO, Antieroe dai molti volti. Giuliano l'Apostata nel medioevo bizantino. Udine 2014 (Diss. Udine 2011), 22.

55 Die Chronik endet mit AM 6305 (812/813); zur Abfassungszeit ROCHOW, Theophanes (wie oben Fußnote 53), 41.

56 Diese Parallelisierung im selben Kontext bieten zudem: Die Stephanos-Vita des Symeon Metaphrastes (2515 – 2517, IADEVAIA 169) und Zon. 15, 6, 16; nicht angeführt ist sie allerdings in dem Bericht des Kedrenos (cap. 485, 9; BEKKER II, 11, 15 – 17 = TARTAGLIA II 765, 46 – 50) und Pseudo-Leon Grammatikos/Symeon Magister sind diese Geschehnisse sogar vollkommen unbekannt. Georgios Monachos 4, 253, 2 (DE BOOR/WIRTH II 751, 17 – 752, 11 [752, 3] = *PG* 110, 933, dazu auch ROCHOW, Konstantin V., wie oben Fußnote 54, 137 mit Anm. 73) bezeichnet Konstantin V. in anderem Zusammenhang nur als neuen Julian. Andreas von Caesarea, Comm. in Apoc. 12,36 (J. SCHMID, Studien zur Geschichte des griechischen Apokalypse-Textes I 1. München 1955, 136, 12 = *PG* 106, 133) nennt ebenfalls Julian und Valens parallel als Verfolger; siehe auch Comm. in Apoc. 18, 54 (SCHMID 184, 15 – 17 = *PG* 106, 377: Julian und die Herrschaft der Arianer); siehe zu diesem Text jetzt auch die beiden neuen Übersetzungen von E. SCARVELIS CONSTANTINOU, Andrew of Caesarea, Commentary on the Apocalypse. *Fathers of the Church*, 123. Washington D.C. 2011, 147 und 183 – 184; W.C. WEINREICH, Greek commentaries in revelation. Commentary on the Apocalypse, Oecumenius, commentary on the Apocalypse, Andrew of Caesarea. Downers Grove, Illinois 2011, 160 und 177. Nicht herangezogen werden kann dagegen die parallele Nennung von Julian und Valens in den Fragmenten des Theodoros Anagnostes (*PG* 86,215/216) = Suda s.v. Diodoros (Δ 1149, ADLER II 103, 1 – 23), da es sich um eine simple Zeitangabe und somit eine Tatsachenfeststellung ohne gezielten ideologischen Hintergrund handelt. Georg von Trapezunt bietet eine Mischform, da er im ersten Vorwort zu seiner Basilios-Übersetzung sagt: *Floruit* [= Basilios] *enim Iuliani ac Valentis temporibus cum altero quorum pro christianismo, cum altero pro orthodoxia acerrime pugnavit* (Praefatio I,4,3; CH. ABENSTEIN, Die Basilius-Übersetzung des Georg von Trapezunt. Berlin 2015, 7, 10 – 11). Die parallele Nennung beider Kaiser hat also primär den Zweck einer chronologischen Einordnung, allerdings hebt Georg ergänzend ihre Verfolgertätigkeit als Gemeinsamkeit hervor. Interessant ist, dass in den späteren Vorworten nur noch Valens genannt wird (Praefatio II 2, 2 – 3, 1 = ABENSTEIN 8, 18 – 9, 6; Praefatio III 1, 2 = ABENSTEIN 193, 6 – 13). Eine Parallelisierung von Julian und Maximian (!) – wahrscheinlich ist Galerius gemeint – findet sich im Geschichtswerk des Nikephoros Gregoras (cap. 25, 36, BEKKER III 63, 6 – 7).

Feststellungen, so bietet sich eine Erklärung für den Irrtum Gregors, dass Julian Mönche per Gesetz zum Kriegsdienst gezwungen habe. Es bleibt die Frage, ob Gregor tatsächlich einem Irrtum erlegen ist oder ob er sich bewusst dafür entschied, den aus seiner Sicht schlimmeren Vertreter dieses Duos vorzuschieben.

Insgesamt spricht mehr für ersteres: Julian wird in den Werken Gregors nur an dieser Stelle[57] und Valens dort offensichtlich nie genannt, so dass keine detaillierte Auseinandersetzung Gregors mit Julian außerhalb des „Grundwissens" seiner angeblichen Verfolgertätigkeit zu erwarten ist. Auch stellt sich die Frage, ob Gregor bewusst den Kaiser täuschen würde; allerdings nennt er nur im Brief an Theodoros einen Namen, so dass ihm Maurikios letztlich keine Falschinformation vorwerfen könnte. Somit verbleibt die Erkenntnis: Der Historiker kann diese Angabe als Zeugnis der Entwicklung des Julianbildes und der Kenntnisse der antiken Geschichte um 600 verwenden; für den historischen Julian ist sie dagegen bedeutungslos.

Anhang: Text und Übersetzung der vier Briefe Gregors und ihrer Benutzer

Der nachfolgende Anhang bietet einen Text, eine deutsche Übersetzung und einen rudimentären Apparat zu den vier in diesem Aufsatz behandelten Briefen sowie den auf sie zurückgehenden späteren Quellen. Der Text geht nicht auf eigene handschriftliche Studien zurück und erhebt daher keinen Anspruch auf einen eigenständigen Forschungsbeitrag. Der Apparat, der die Abweichungen der einzelnen Editionen untereinander (unterschiedliche Interpunktion allerdings nur in

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57 P. Maymó i Capdevila, El ideario de lo sacro en Gregorio Magno (590 – 604). De los santos en la diplomacia pontificia, Diss. Barcelona 2013 (http://www.tdx.cat/bitstream/handle/10803/123278/PMC_TESIS.pdf) verweist 56, Anm. 102 noch auf Hom. in Evang. 1, 1, 3, wo aber weder Julian noch das hier diskutierte Gesetz in irgendeiner Form thematisiert werden. Zur Bedeutung Konstantins in den Werken Gregors dagegen siehe P. Pellegrini, Sic enim Constantinus quondam piissimus imperator. L'immagine di Costantino in Gregorio Magno. *Bullettino dell'istituto storico italiano per il medio evo* 103 (2000/01) 1 – 32 und P. Maymó i Capdevila, El τόπος constantiniano y el apostolado monárquico en Gregorio Magno, in J. Vilella Masana (ed.), Constantino, ¿el primer emperador cristiano? Religión y política en el siglo IV. Barcelona 2015, 529 – 539; allgemein zum Bild Konstantins im sechsten Jahrhundert auch G. Marconi, Roma, l'Oriente scismatico e gli Ariani: L'immagine di Costantino nell'Italia ostrogota, in G. Bonamente / N. E. Lenski / R. Lizzi Testa (eds.), Costantino prima e dopo Costantino. Constantine before and after Constantine. Bari 2012, 501 – 520. Allerdings geht Kopka, Pope (wie oben Fußnote 26), 102 – 103 zu weit, wenn er behauptet: „He indirectly admonished Mauricius to follow Constantine's rather than Julian's example."

den Fällen, in denen sich dadurch die Gliederung des Satzes ändert) sowie die der späteren Texte von den Briefen Gregors verzeichnet, dient dementsprechend zwei Zwecken: Erstens soll der Benutzer auf die textkritisch problematischen Stellen aufmerksam gemacht werden (aufgrund der Unwesentlichkeit der meisten Abweichungen dürfte das vermutlich vor allem das Interesse des Sprachforschers finden); zweitens soll der direkte Vergleich der Briefe und der späteren Fassungen eine leichte Übersicht über den Wert der letztgenannten als Sekundärüberlieferung der Briefe Gregors sowie zu ihrem Umgang mit den Vorlagen ermöglichen. In den Belegen wurden neben den verwendeten Editionen nur noch die vollständigen Übersetzungen einzelner Briefe verzeichnet; die zahllosen Teilübersetzungen können über die in dem Beitrag zitierte Literatur ermittelt werden.

Abkürzungen (Editionen und Übersetzungen)

E/H I = Gregorii I Papae registrum epistolarum I. Libri I–VII, ed. P. Ewald / L. M. Hartmann. *MGH* Epistolarum tomus I. Berlin 1887.

E/H II = Gregorii I Papae registrum epistolarum I. Libri VIII–XIV, ed. P. Ewald / L. M. Hartmann. *MGH* Epistolarum tomus II. Berlin 1899.

M/R = Grégoire le Grand, Registre des lettres II (livres III–IV). *Sources chrétiennes*, 520. Texte latin de D. Norberg (CCL 140), introduction et notes M. Reydellet, trad. P. Minard /M. Reydellet. Paris 2008.

N I = S. Gregorii Magni registrum epistularum libri I–VII, ed. D. Norberg. *CC, series latina*, 140. Turnhout 1982.

N II = S. Gregorii Magni registrum epistularum libri VIII–XIV, appendix, ed. D. Norberg. *CC, series latina*, 140 A. Turnhout 1982.

PL = Sancti Gregorii Papæ I cognomento Magni opera omnia III. *PL* 77, 431 – 1460.

Barmby I = The book of pastoral rule and selected epistles of Gregory the Great bishop of Rome, transl. J. Barmby. *Nicene and post-Nicene fathers*, 2. S. 12, 2. Oxford 1905.

Barmby II = Selected epistles of Gregory the Great bishop of Rome (books IX–XIV), transl. J. Barmby. *Nicene and post-Nicene fathers*, 2. S. 13, 1. Oxford 1908.

Kranzfelder = Ausgewählte Schriften des heiligen Gregorius des Großen, Papstes und Kirchenlehrers nach dem Urtexte übersetzt II. Des heiligen Kirchenlehrers Gregorius des Großen ausgewählte Briefe, übers. Th. Kranzfelder. *Bibliothek der Kirchenväter*, 50. Kempten 1874.

Martyn I = The letters of Gregory the Great I. Books 1 – 4, transl. J. R. C. Martyn. *Mediaeval sources in translation*, 40. Toronto 2004.

Martyn II = The letters of Gregory the Great II. Books 5 – 9, transl. J. R. C. Martyn. *Mediaeval sources in translation*, 40. Toronto 2004.

Martyn III = The letters of Gregory the Great III. Books 10 – 14, transl. J. R. C. Martyn. *Mediaeval sources in translation*, 40. Toronto 2004.

Ioh. = Sancti Gregorii Papæ I cognomento Magni opera omnia I. *PL* 75 – Vita Gregorii des Johannes Diaconus 59 – 242.

Ivo = Sancti Ivonis Carnotensis episcopi opera omnia. *PL* 161.

Maneg. = Manegoldi ad Gebehardus liber, ed. K. Francke, in: Libelli de lite imperatorum et pontificum saeculis XI. et XII. conscripti I. *MGH*. Hannover 1891, 300 – 431.

Wenr. = Wenrici Scolastici Trevirensis epistola sub Theoderici episcopi Virdunensis nomine composita, ed. K. Francke, ibid. 280 – 299.

1) Ep. 3, 61 = 3, 65 PL = 3, 19 Kranzfelder

[3, 56 – 65] *Mense Augusto indictione XI.*
Gregorius Mauricio Augusto.

(1) *Omnipotenti Deo reus est, qui serenissimis dominis in omne, quod agit et loquitur, purus non est.* (2) *Ego autem indignus pietatis vestrae famulus in hac suggestione mea neque ut episcopus neque ut servus iure reipublicae, sed iure privato loquor, quia, serenissime domine, et illo iam tempore dominus meus fuisti, quando adhuc dominus omnium non eras.*

(3) *Longino viro clarissimo stratore veniente, dominorum legem suscepi, ad quam fatigatus tunc egritudine corporis respondere nil valui.* (4) *In qua dominorum pietas sanxit, ut quisquis publicis administrationibus fuerit implicatus, ei ad ecclesiasticum officium venire non liceat.* (5) *Quod valde laudavi, evidentissime sciens, quia, qui saecularem habitum deserens ad ecclesiastica officia venire festinat, mutare vult saeculum, non relinquere.* (6) *Quod vero in eadem lege dicitur, ut ei in monasterio converti non liceat, omnino miratus sum, dum et rationes eius possunt per monasterium fieri, et agi potest, ut ab eo loco in quo suscipitur eius quoque debita suscipiantur.* (7) *Nam etsi quisquam devota mente converti voluisset, prius res male ablatas redderet, et de sua anima tanto verius, quanto expeditior, cogitaret.* (8) *In qua lege subiunctum est, ut nulli qui in manu signatus est, converti liceat.* (9) *Quam constitutionem ego, fateor dominis meis, vehementer expavi.* (10) *Quia per eam caelorum via multis clauditur, et quod nuncusque licuit, ne liceat prohibetur.* (11) *Multi enim sunt, qui possunt religiosam vitam etiam cum saeculari habitu ducere.* (12) *Et plerique sunt, qui nisi omnia reliquerint, salvari apud Deum nullatenus possint.* (13) *Ego vero haec dominis meis loquens, quid sum nisi pulvis et vermis?* (14) *Sed tamen quia contra auctorem omnium Deum hanc intendere constitutionem sentio, dominis tacere non possum.* (15) *Ad hoc enim potestas super omnes homines pietati dominorum meorum caelitus data est, ut qui bona appetunt adiuventur, ut caelorum via largius pateat, ut terrestre regnum caelesti regno famuletur.* (16) *Et ecce aperta voce dicitur, ut ei, qui semel in terrena militia signatus fuerit, nisi aut expleta militia, aut pro debilitate corporis repulsus, Christo militare non liceat.*

(17) *Ad haec ecce per me servum ultimum suum et vestrum respondit Christus, dicens:* (18) *„Ego te de notario comitem excubitorum, de comite scubitorum caesarem, de caesare imperatorem, nec solum hoc, sed etiam patrem imperatorum feci.* (19) *Sacerdotes meos tuae manui commisi, et tu a meo servitio milites tuos sub-*

trahis". (20) *Responde, rogo, piissime domine, servo tuo, quid venienti et haec dicenti responsurus es in iudicio Domino tuo?*

(21) *Sed fortasse creditur, quia nullus eorum puro animo convertatur.* (22) *Ego indignus famulus vester scio, quanti diebus meis in monasterio milites conversi miracula fecerunt, signa et virtutes operati sunt.* (23) *Sed per hanc legem iam ne quisquam talium converti valeat prohibetur.*

(24) *Requirat, rogo, dominus meus, quis prior imperator talem legem dederit, et subtilius aestimet, si debuit dari.* (25) *Et considerandum valde est, quia eo iam tempore prohibentur quique relinquere saeculum, quo adpropinquavit finis ipse saeculorum.* (26) *Ecce enim mora non erit, et ardente caelo, ardente terra, coruscantibus elementis, cum angelis et archangelis, cum thronis et dominationibus, cum principatibus et potestatibus tremendus iudex apparebit.* (27) *Si omnia peccata dimiserit, et solum hanc legem contra se dixerit prolatam, quae, rogo, erit excusatio?* (28) *Unde per eundem tremendum iudicem deprecor, ne illae tantae lacrimae, tantae orationes, tanta ieiunia, tantaeque elemosynae domini mei, ex qualibet occasione apud omnipotentis Dei oculos fuscentur, sed aut interpretando pietas vestra, aut inmutando vigorem eiusdem legis inflectat.* (29) *Quia tunc magis dominorum exercitus contra hostes crescit, quando Dei exercitus ad orationem creverit.*

(30) *Ego quidem iussioni subiectus eandem legem per diversas terrarum partes feci transmitti, et quia lex ipsa omnipotenti Deo minime concordet ecce per suggestionis meae paginam serenissimis dominis nuntiavi.* (31) *Utrobique ergo quae debui exolvi, qui et imperatori oboedientiam praebui, et pro Deo quod sensi minime tacui.*

Ed./Üb.: PL 662 A–665 A; E/H I 220,1–222,6; N I 209, 1–211,68; M/R 230,1–236,74; Üb.: Kranzfelder 176–179; Snow, St. Gregory (wie oben Fußnote 5), S. 165–168 = S. 141–143; Dudden, Gregory (wie oben Fußnote 5) 182–184; Barmby I 140–141; Martyn I 280–282

(1) omne, quod E/H, N, M/R; omnequod PL; (2) suggestione mea E/H, N, M/R; suggestione PL; (2) et illo iam tempore E/H, N, M/R; ex illo iam tempore PL; (3) egritudine E/H; aegritudine PL, N, M/R; (5) laudavi E/H, N, M/R; laudavit PL; (6) monasterio E/H, N, M/R; monasterium PL; (7) **voluisset PL, E/H; noluisset N, M/R**; (10) caelorum E/H, N, M/R; coelorum PL; (10) nuncusque E/H, N, M/R; nunc usque PL; (12) plerique sunt, qui PL, E/H; plerique sunt qui, N, M/R; (12) possint E/H, N, M/R; possunt PL; (15) pietati dominorum meorum caelitus E/H, N, M/R; dominorum meorum pietati coelitus PL; (15) caelorum E/H, N, M/R; coelorum PL; (15) caelesti E/H, N, M/R; coelesti PL; (16) Christo E/H, N, M/R; Domino Jesu Christo PL; (17) respondit E/H, N, M/R; respondebit PL; (18) comitem excubitorum PL, E/H; comitem scubitorum N, M/R; (18) de comite scubitorum E/H, N, M/R; de comite excubitorum PL; (19) subtrahis. E/H, N, M/R; subtrahis? PL; (22) diebus E/H, N, M/R; his diebus PL; (23) valeat E/H, N, M/R; debeat PL; (25) considerandum E/H, N, M/R; quidem considerandum PL; (25) adpropinquavit E/H; appropinquavit PL, N, M/R; (26) caelo E/H, N, M/R; coelo PL; (27) prolatam E/H, N, M/R; esse prolatam PL; (28) eundem E/H, N, M/R; eumdem PL; (28)

lacrimae E/H, N, M/R; lacrymae PL; (28) elemosynae E/H, N, M/R; eleemosynae PL; (28) inmutando E/H; immutando PL, N, M/R; (30) eandem E/H, N, M/R; eamdem PL; (30) feci transmitti E/H, N, M/R; transmitti feci PL; (30) concordet E/H, N, M/R; concordat PL; (31) exolvi E/H; exsolvi PL, N, M/R; (31) oboedientiam E/H, N, M/R; obedientiam PL

Übersetzung

Im Monat August in der elften Indiktion.
Gregorius dem Kaiser Mauricius.

(1) Angeklagter vor dem allmächtigen Gott ist derjenige, der nicht den allerdurchlauchtigsten Herren gegenüber bei allem, was er tut und sagt, aufrichtig ist. (2) Ich aber, unwürdiger Diener eurer Frömmigkeit, spreche in diesem Ratschlag von meiner Seite nicht als Bischof und auch nicht als Sklave nach dem Recht des Staates [= als Untertan des Kaisers], sondern nach dem Recht des Privatmannes, weil, allerdurchlauchtigster Herr, du auch schon zu jener Zeit mein Herr warst, als du noch nicht der Herr aller gewesen bist.

(3) Als der *vir clarissimus* und *strator* [Stallmeister] Longinus eintraf, erhielt ich ein Gesetz der Herren, auf das ich, damals geschwächt durch körperliche Krankheit, nicht antworten konnte. (4) In diesem verordnet die Frömmigkeit der Herren, dass es dem, der in die öffentliche Verwaltungstätigkeit verwickelt ist, nicht erlaubt sei, zu einem kirchlichen Amt zu gelangen. (5) Dies lobe ich sehr, da ich ohne Zweifel weiß, dass, wer die weltliche Stellung verlässt und sich beeilt, zu den kirchlichen Ämtern zu gelangen, das Weltliche (zu seinen Gunsten) verändern, nicht zurücklassen will. (6) Dass aber in demselben Gesetz gesagt wird, dass es diesem nicht erlaubt ist, in ein Kloster einzutreten, begreife ich in jeglicher Hinsicht nicht, insofern, dass die Rechnungen dessen durch das Kloster durchgeführt werden können und es kann praktiziert werden, dass von dem Ort, von dem er aufgenommen wird, auch dessen Schulden aufgenommen werden. (7) Wenn jemand nämlich mit gottergebener Gesinnung (in ein Kloster) [Norberg: nicht] eintreten will, wird er vorher durch Unrecht erworbenes Besitztum zurückerstatten und je wahrhaftiger er auf seine Seele bedacht ist, um so eher wird er sich davon befreien. (8) In diesem Gesetz ist auch hinzugefügt, dass es keinem, der an der Hand gezeichnet [= mit dem Erkennungszeichen des Soldaten tätowiert] ist, erlaubt ist, (in ein Kloster) einzutreten. (9) Diese Bestimmung hat mich, gestehe ich meinen Herren, zutiefst erschreckt. (10) Weil durch sie der Weg zu den Himmeln vielen versperrt wird und das, was bis jetzt erlaubt war, nicht (mehr) erlaubt ist und verboten wird. (11) Es gibt nämlich viele (Menschen), die ein religiöses Leben auch in einer weltlichen Stellung führen können. (12) Es gibt aber auch noch viele (Menschen) mehr, die, wenn sie nicht alles zurücklassen, keinesfalls bei Gott gerettet werden können. (13) Ich aber, der dies meinen Herren sagt, was bin ich

außer Staub und Gewürm? (14) Aber dennoch kann ich, weil ich erkenne, dass diese Bestimmung Gott, dem Schöpfer von allem, entgegensteht, meinen Herren gegenüber nicht schweigen.

(15) Deswegen nämlich hat der Himmel die Macht über alle Menschen der Frömmigkeit meiner Herren übertragen, damit diejenigen, die Gutes erstreben, unterstützt werden, so dass der Weg zu den Himmeln in größerem Maße offensteht und damit die irdische Herrschaft der himmlischen Herrschaft dienstbar ist. (16) Und siehe, mit offener Rede wird gesagt, dass es dem, der einmal als im irdischen Heeresdienst befindlich gezeichnet wurde, nicht erlaubt ist, für Christus Heeresdienst zu leisten, wenn er nicht seinen (weltlichen) Heeresdienst vollständig abgeleistet hat oder wegen der Gebrechlichkeit seines Körpers zurückgewiesen wurde.

(17) Siehe, darauf antwortet Christus durch mich, seinen und euren niedrigsten Sklaven, und sagt: (18) „Ich habe dich vom *notarius* zum *comes excubitorum* [Anführer der kaiserlichen Wache], vom *comes excubitorum* zum Caesar, vom Caesar zum Kaiser und nicht nur das, sondern auch zum Vater von Kaisern gemacht. (19) Meine Priester habe ich deiner Hand anvertraut und du entziehst deine Soldaten meinem Dienst.“ (20) Antworte, bitte ich, frömmster Herr, deinem Sklaven, was du, wenn er kommt und dies sagt, deinem Herren vor seinem Gericht antworten wirst.

(21) Aber vielleicht wird angenommen, dass keiner von denen mit reinem Herzen (in ein Kloster) eintritt. (22) Ich, euer unwürdiger Diener, weiß, wie viele eingetretene Soldaten zu meinen Tagen im Kloster Wunder gewirkt haben sowie Zeichen und Leistungen vollbracht haben. (23) Aber durch dieses Gesetz wird nun verboten, dass es möglich ist, dass jemand Derartiges (in ein Kloster) eintritt.

(24) Mein Herr forsche nach, bitte ich, welcher frühere Kaiser ein derartiges Gesetz erlassen hat, und wäge gründlich ab, ob es notwendig war, es zu erlassen. (25) Und es sollte sehr genau bedacht werden, dass es bereits zu dieser Zeit jedem verboten ist, das Weltliche zurückzulassen, zu der sich das Ende der weltlichen (Dinge) nähert. (26) Siehe, es gibt nämlich keinen Aufschub und mit flammendem Himmel, glühender Erde, blitzenden Elementen, mit Engeln und Erzengeln, mit Thronen und Herrschaften, mit Vorrangstellungen und Machtpositionen wird der fürchterliche Richter erscheinen. (27) Wenn er alle Sünden vergeben und alleine dieses Gesetz als gegen seinen Willen gerichtet bezeichnen wird, was wird, frage ich, die Entschuldigung sein? (28) Daher flehe ich durch denselben fürchterlichen Richter, dass nicht jene ganzen Tränen, Gebete, Fastenzeiten und Wohltaten meines Herren durch irgendein gelegentliches Geschehnis vor den Augen des allmächtigen Gottes getrübt werden, sondern eure Frömmigkeit die Wirkung desselben Gesetzes entweder durch Umdeutung oder Abwandlung umändert. (29)

Denn das Heer der Herren gegen die Feinde wächst umso mehr, je mehr das Heer Gottes an Gebeten anwächst.

(30) Ich habe, dem Befehl unterworfen, dieses Gesetz in die verschiedenen Teile der Länderschaften übersenden lassen, und dass das Gesetz selbst mit dem allmächtigen Gott überhaupt nicht übereinstimmt, habe ich, siehe, durch die Niederschrift meines Ratschlags den allerdurchlauchtigsten Herren verkündet. (31) Folglich habe ich beiden gegenüber erfüllt, wozu ich verpflichtet bin, der ich dem Kaiser Gehorsam erwiesen und für Gott keineswegs, was ich denke, verschwiegen habe.

2) Ep. 3, 64 = 3, 66 PL = 3, 20 Kranzfelder

[3, 56 – 65] *Mense Augusto indictione XI.*
Gregorius Theodoro medico.

(1) *Quanta bona omnipotentis Dei et serenissimi domini mei imperatoris habeam, lingua mea non sufficit explere.* (2) *Pro quibus donis quid est meum retribuere, nisi eorum vestigia pure amare?* (3) *Peccatis autem meis facientibus, ex quorum suggestione vel consilio nescio, transacto anno talem in republica sua legem protulit, ut quisquis eum pure amat flere vehementer debeat.* (4) *Ad quam legem tunc respondere non potui, quia egrotus fui.* (5) *Modo autem eidem domno aliqua suggessi.* (6) *Praecepit enim, ut nullus qui actionem publicam egit, nullus qui optio vel manu signatus vel inter milites fuit habitus, ei in monasterio converti liceat, nisi forte si militia eius fuerit expleta.* (7) *Quam legem primum, sicuti dicunt qui leges veteres noverunt, Iulianus protulit, de quo scimus omnes, quantum Deo adversus fuit.* (8) *Quod si ideo serenissimus dominus noster fecit, quia fortasse multi milites convertebantur et exercitus decrescebat, numquid per virtutem militum subiugavit omnipotens Deus imperium Persarum?* (9) *Numquid non solae lacrimae illius auditae sunt, et eo ordine quem ipse nescivit eius imperio Persarum imperium subdidit?* (10) *Valde mihi durum videtur, ut ab eius servitio milites suos prohibeat, qui et omnia tribuit, et dominari eum non solum militibus, sed etiam sacerdotibus concessit.* (11) *Numquid si intentio servandarum rerum est, non poterant ea ipsa monasteria quae milites suscepissent alienas res reddere, atque ad conversionem homines tantummodo habere?* (12) *Haec quia mihi valde dolent, eidem domno suggessi.* (13) *Sed vestra gloria oportuno tempore secrete suggestionem meam ei offerat.* (14) *Nolo eam a responsali meo publice dari, quia vos qui ei familiarius servitis loqui ei apertius et liberius potestis quae pro eius sunt anima, quoniam in multis est occupatus, et vix eius animus invenitur a curis maioribus vacuus.* (15) *Tu quidem, gloriose fili, pro Christo loquere.* (16) *Si auditus fueris, lucrum est animae praedicti domini et tuae.* (17) *Si vero auditus non fueris, lucrum solummodo tuae fecisti.*

Ed./Üb.: PL 665 A–666B; E/H I 225, 13 – 226, 11; N I 214,1 – 215, 32; M/R 246, 1 – 248, 35; Üb.: Kranzfelder 179 – 181; Barmby I 141 – 142; Martyn I 285 – 286]

(2) *donis* E/H, N, M/R; *bonis* PL; (4) *egrotus* E/H; *aegrotus* PL, N, M/R; (5) *domno* E/H, N, M/R; *domino* PL; (6) *Praecepit* E/H, N, M/R; *Praecipit* PL; (7) *sicuti* E/H, N, M/R; *sicut ii* PL; (7) *fuit* E/H, N, M/R; *fuerit* PL; (8) *fortasse* E/H, N, M/R; *forte* PL; (8) *numquid* E/H, N, M/R; *nunquid* PL; (8) *omnipotens* E/H; *ei omnipotens* PL, N, M/R; (9) *Numquid* E/H, N, M/R; *Nunquid* PL; (9) *lacrimae* E/H, N, M/R; *lacrymae* PL; (10) *Valde* E/H, N, M/R; *Valde autem* PL; (10) *et omnia* E/H, N, M/R; *ei et omnia* PL; (11) *Numquid si intentio servandarum rerum est* E/H, N, M/R; *Nunquid si intentio est servandarum rerum* PL; (12) *domno* E/H, N, M/R; *domino* PL; (13) *oportuno* E/H, N, M/R; *opportuno* PL; (14) *apertius et liberius* E/H, N, M/R; *liberius et apertius* PL; (14) *eius animus* E/H, N, M/R; *animus ejus* PL; (16) *domini* E/H, N, M/R; *domini tui* PL

Übersetzung:

Im Monat August in der elften Indiktion.
Gregorius dem Arzt Theodorus.

(1) Um auszudrücken, wieviel Gutes ich von dem allmächtigen Gott und meinen Herren Kaisern erhalten habe, genügt meine Sprache nicht. (2) Was kann ich von mir für diese Geschenke zurückgeben, außer ihre Spuren aufrichtig zu lieben? (3) Bei allen von mir begangenen Sünden, er hat, ich weiß nicht durch wessen Ratschlag oder Empfehlung, im vorübergegangenen Jahr in seinem Staatswesen ein Gesetz erlassen, wegen dem jeder, der ihn aufrichtig liebt, bitterlich weinen muss. (4) Auf dieses Gesetz konnte ich damals nicht antworten, weil ich krank war. (5) Kürzlich aber habe ich dem Herrn einige Ratschläge gesandt. (6) Er schreibt nämlich vor, dass es keinem, der eine öffentliche Tätigkeit betrieben hat und keinem, der entweder Optio oder an der Hand gezeichnet oder inmitten der Soldaten befindlich war, erlaubt sei, in ein Kloster einzutreten, wenn nicht dessen Dienstverpflichtung vollständig abgeleistet wurde. (7) Ein derartiges Gesetz hat zuerst, so wie diejenigen versichern, welche die alten Gesetze kennen, Julian erlassen, von dem wir alle wissen, wie sehr er gegen Gott eingestellt war. (8) Wenn unser allerdurchlauchtigster Herr dies deswegen getan hat, weil vielleicht viele Soldaten (in Klöster) eingetreten sind und das Heer geschrumpft ist, hat dann der allmächtige Gott durch die Tapferkeit der Soldaten das Reich der Perser unterworfen? (9) Wurden nicht etwa seine Tränen alleine erhört oder hat er durch diese Verordnung, die er selbst nicht kannte, das Reich der Perser unterworfen? (10) Es erscheint mir sehr hart, dass er seinen Soldaten den Dienst an demjenigen verbietet, der (ihm) alles gewährt hat und der ihm zugestanden hat, nicht nur über die Soldaten, sondern auch über die Priester zu herrschen. (11) Wenn seine Absicht der Erhalt von Besitz ist, können dann nicht dieselben Klöster, welche die Soldaten aufgenommen haben, den fremden Besitz zurückerstatten und nur die Menschen

für den Eintritt behalten? (12) Dass dies mich sehr betrübt, habe ich dem Herrn (Kaiser) mitgeteilt. (13) Aber euer Ruhm möge ihm zu einem günstigen Zeitpunkt im Stillen meinen Ratschlag übergeben. (14) Ich will ihn nicht durch meinen Stellvertreter öffentlich überbringen lassen, weil ihr, der ihr durch euren Dienst in freundschaftlicher Beziehung zu ihm steht, offener und freier sagen könnt, was für seine Seele gut ist, denn er ist ja mit vielem beschäftigt und selten findet man seinen Geist von größeren Sorgen befreit. (15) Du also, ruhmreicher Sohn, spreche für Christus. (16) Wenn du gehört wirst, ist das ein Gewinn für die Seele des zuvorgenannten Herrn und für die deinige. (17) Wenn du aber nicht gehört wirst, hast du nur dir einen Gewinn beschafft.

3) Ep. 8,10 = 8,5 PL = 8, 2 Kranzfelder

[8, 6–10] *Mense Novembrio indictione I.*
Gregorius Eusebio Thessalonicensi, Urbicio Diracitano, Constantio Mediolanensi, Andreae Nicopolitano, Iohanni Corinthensi, Iohanni Primae Iustinianae, Iohanni Cretensi, Iohanni Scodritano, Iohanni Larissaeo, Mariniano Ravennati, Ianuario Caralis Sardiniae et omnibus episcopis Siciliae.

(1) *Legem quam piissimus imperator dedit, ne fortasse hi qui militiae vel rationibus sunt publicis obligati, dum causarum suarum periculum fugiunt, ad ecclesiasticum habitum veniant vel in monasteriis convertantur, vestrae studui fraternitati transmittere, hoc maxime exhortans, quod hi qui saeculi actionibus implicati sunt in clero ecclesiae propere suscipiendi non sunt;* (2) *quia, dum in ecclesiastico habitu non dissimiliter quam vixerunt vivunt, nequaquam student saeculum fugere, sed mutare.* (3) *Quod si etiam tales quique monasterium petunt, suscipiendi nullo modo sunt, nisi prius a rationibus publicis fuerint absoluti.* (4) *Si qui vero ex militaribus numeris in monasteriis converti festinant, non sunt temere suscipiendi, nisi eorum vita suptiliter fuerit inquisita;* (5) *et iuxta normam regularem debent in suo habitu per triennium probari et tunc monachicum habitum Deo auctore suscipere.* (6) *Qui si ita sunt probati atque suscepti et pro anima sua paenitentiam de perpetratis culpis agere student, pro eorum vita et lucro caelesti non est eorum conversio rennuenda.* (7) *Qua de re etiam serenissimus et christianissimus imperator, mihi credite, omni modo placatur et libenter eorum conversionem suscipit, quos in rationibus publicis implicatos non esse cognoscit. [PL: Mense Decembri, indictione prima]*

Ed./Üb.: PL 909B–910B; E/H II 12,16–13,10; N II 527,1–528,26; Üb.: Kranzfelder 405–407; Barmby I 233; Martyn II 508; der entsprechende Band der SC-Edition ist noch nicht erschienen.

(Adr.) *Urbicio* E/H, N; *Urbitio* PL; (Adr.) *Diracitano* PL, E/H; *Dyracitano* N; (Adr., durchgehend) *Iohanni* E/H, N; *Joanni* PL; (Adr.) *Corinthensi* E/H, N; *Corinthi* PL; (Adr.) *Iohanni Scodritano* E/H, N; *Scoritano* PL; (Adr.) *Larissaeo* E/H, N; *Larissae* PL; (Adr.) *Ravennati* E/H, N; *Ravennae* PL; (2) *vixerunt* E/H, N; *vixerant* PL; (3) *nullo modo* PL, E/H; *nullomodo* N; (4) *suptiliter fuerit* E/H; *subtiliter fuerit* N; *fuerit subtiliter* PL; (6) *paenitentiam* E/H, N; *poenitentiam* PL; (6) *caelesti* E/H, N; *coelesti* PL; (6) *rennuenda* E/H, N; *renuenda* PL; (7) *omni modo* PL, E/H; *omnimodo* N

Übersetzung:

Im Monat November in der ersten Indiktion.

Gregorius dem Eusebius von Thessaloniki, dem Urbicius von Dyrrhachium, dem Constantius von Mailand, dem Andreas von Nikopolis, dem Johannes von Korinth, dem Johannes von Prima Iustiniana, dem Johannes von Kreta, dem Johannes von Skutari, dem Johannes von Larissa, dem Marinianus von Ravenna, dem Ianuarius von Caralis auf Sardinien und allen Bischöfen Siziliens.

(1) Das Gesetz, das der sehr fromme Kaiser erlassen hat, dass nicht vielleicht jemand von denen, die dem Heeresdienst oder den Verwaltungsangelegenheiten verpflichtet sind, so der Gefahr ihrer Aufgaben entfliehen, indem sie zu einer kirchlichen Stellung gelangen oder in ein Kloster eintreten, habe ich eurer Brüderlichkeit eifrig übersendet und dabei größtmöglich befürwortet, dass diejenigen, die in weltliche Tätigkeiten verwickelt sind, nicht eilends in den Klerus der Kirche aufzunehmen sind; (2) weil sie, da sie unter dem kirchlichen Anschein nicht unähnlich so, wie sie (zuvor) gelebt haben, (auch weiterhin) leben, keineswegs bemüht sind, dem Weltlichen zu entfliehen, sondern es zu verändern. (3) Wenn aber solche ein Kloster erstreben, sind sie keineswegs aufzunehmen, sofern sie nicht zuvor von den öffentlichen Verwaltungsangelegenheiten befreit wurden. (4) Wenn aber solche aus der Zahl der Soldaten sich beeilen, in ein Kloster einzutreten, sind sie nicht ohne Weiteres aufzunehmen, solange nicht ihre Lebensführung gründlich untersucht wurde; (5) und gemäß den üblichen Vorschriften müssen sie in ihrer Beschaffenheit für drei Jahre geprüft werden und erhalten dann, durch Gott erhoben, die mönchische Stellung. (6) Wenn diejenigen, so geprüft und aufgenommen, es erstreben, für ihre Seele Reue für die begangenen Sünden zu erlangen, ist für ihre Lebensführung und den himmlischen Gewinn ihr Eintritt nicht abzulehnen. (7) In dieser Sache stimmt auch unser allerdurchlauchtigster und sehr christlicher Kaiser, glaubt mir, in jeglicher Hinsicht überein und er gesteht mit Vergnügen den Eintritt derer zu, die er als nicht den öffentlichen Verwaltungsangelegenheiten verpflichtet erachtet.

4) Ep. 10, 9 = 10, 24 PL

Mense Aprili indictione III.
Gregorius Fortunato episcopo Neapolim.

(1) *Dum fraternitas vestra minus erga monasteria sibi subiecta studet esse sollicita, et ipsa culpam reprehensionis incurrit et nos de sua lenitate contristat.* (2) *Pervenit autem ad nos Mauricium quendam, qui nuper in monasterio Barbatiani conversus est, ablatis secum aliis monachis fuga de eodem monasterio discessisse.* (3) *Qua in re praedictum nobis Barbatianum sua praecipitatio vehementer accusat, qui temere saecularem hominem et non ante probatum tonsoravit.* (4) *Numquid non vobis scripsimus, ut prius eum probaretis et tunc, si aptus esset, abbatem facere deberetis?* (5) *Vel nunc ergo circa eum quem elegistis estote solliciti.* (6) *Nam vos illo delinquente delinquitis, si ita se coeperit exhibere, ut se ad fratrum ostendat regimen indignum.*

(7) *Praeterea monasteriis omnibus fraternitas vestra districtius interdicat, ut eos quos ad convertendum susceperint, prius quam biennium in conversatione compleant, nullo modo audeant tonsorare.* (8) *Sed hoc spatio vita moresque eorum sollicite comprobentur, ne quis eorum aut non sit contentus quod voluit aut ratum non habeat quod elegit.* (9) *Nam dum grave sit inexpertos hominum obsequiis sociari, quis possit dicere, quanto sit gravius ad Dei servitium improbatos applicari?* (10) *Miles vero si converti voluerit, prius quam nobis renuntietur, nullus eum sine nostro consensu qualibet praesumat ratione suscipere.* (11) *Quod nisi diligenter fuerit custoditum, omnem subiectorum in te culpam inexcusabiliter noveris redundare, qui minus te erga eos rebus ipsis testaris esse sollicitum.*

Ed./Üb.: PL 1082B–1083 A; E/H II 244, 1–20; N II 835, 1–836, 26; Üb.: Barmby II 44–45; Martyn III 719–720; nicht bei Kranzfelder; der entsprechende Band der SC-Edition ist noch nicht erschienen.

(Adr.) Neapolim E/H, N, Neapolitano PL; (1) Dum fraternitas E/H, N; Cum fraternitas PL; (2) Barbatiani E/H, N; Barbaciani PL; (2) discessisse E/H, N; discessise PL; (3) Barbatianum E/H, N; Barbacianum PL; (3) tonsoravit E/H, N; tonsuravit PL; (4) Numquid E/H, N; Nunquid PL; (6) se coeperit E/H, N; coeperit se PL; (7) prius quam E/H, N; priusquam PL; (7) nullo modo PL, E/H; nullomodo N; (7) tonsorare E/H, N; tonsurare PL; (9) improbatos PL, E/H; improbitos N

Übersetzung:

Im Monat April in der dritten Indiktion.
Gregorius dem Bischof von Neapel Fortunatus.

(1) Indem eure Brüderlichkeit bemüht ist, sich wenig um die unterstellten Klöster zu kümmern, verfällt sie der Schuld der Zurückhaltung und betrübt uns

durch ihre Nachlässigkeit. (2) Es ist aber zu unserer Kenntnis gelangt, dass ein gewisser Mauricius, der kürzlich in das Kloster des Barbatianus eingetreten ist, mit anderen ihm folgenden Mönchen von demselben Kloster geflohen ist. (3) In der zuvorgenannten Angelegenheit klagt uns seine übertriebene Eile den Barbatianus heftig an, der blindlings einen weltlichen und nicht zuvor geprüften Menschen geschoren hat. (4) Haben wir euch etwa nicht geschrieben, dass ihr ihn zuerst prüfen sollt und dann, wenn er geeignet sein sollte, zum Abt machen sollt? (5) Seid nun daher jetzt besonders sorgfältig darin, wen ihr erwählt. (6) Denn ihr verletzt eure Pflicht dadurch, dass jener seine Pflicht verletzt hat, wenn er so begonnen hat, zu beweisen, dass er offensichtlich ein unwürdiger Leiter der Brüder ist.

(7) Weiterhin untersage eure Brüderlichkeit allen Klöstern strenger, dass sie bei denjenigen, die sie zum Eintritt empfangen, früher als nach zwei Jahren den Eintritt vollenden; in keinem Fall sollen sie es wagen, sie zu scheren. (8) Aber in dieser Zeit sollen ihr Leben und ihre Sitten sorgfältig geprüft werden, damit nicht einer von ihnen nicht zufrieden mit dem ist, was er erstrebt hat oder nicht fest zu dem steht, was er erwählt hat. (9) Während es nämlich schwer ist, dass Ungeprüfte dem Gehorsam gegenüber Menschen unterstellt werden, wer kann sagen, um wie viel schwerer es ist, dass Ungeprüfte zum Dienst an Gott hingeführt werden? (10) Wenn aber ein Soldat (in ein Kloster) eintreten will, soll, bevor dies uns berichtet wurde, keiner ohne unsere Zustimmung aus irgendeinem Grund voraussetzen, dass der aufgenommen wird. (11) Wenn dies nicht gewissenhaft eingehalten wird, wisse, dass jedes Vergehen der Unterstellten unentschuldbar auf dich übergeht, der du bezeugt hast, in diesen Angelegenheiten wenig sorgfältig zu sein.

5) Johannes Diaconus, Vita Gregorii 3, 50

(1) *Porro Mauritio tunc avarissimo simulque rapacissimo principi, suggestionibus inimicorum suorum funestissimam legem ferenti, ut nulli militum, qui videlicet in manu signatus fuisset, liceret converti, inter caetera sic respondit:* (2) *„Ad hoc potestas super omnes homines pietati dominorum meorum coelitus data est, ut qui bona appetunt, adjuventur, ut coelorum via largius pateat, ut terrestre regnum coelesti regno famuletur.* (3) *Et ecce aperta voce dicitur, ut ei, qui semel in terrena militia signatus fuerit, nisi aut expleta militia, aut pro debilitate corporis repulsus, Domino nostro Jesu Christo militare non liceat.“* (4) *At haec ecce per me, servum ultimum suum et vestrum, respondebit Christus, dicens:* (5) *„Ego te de notario comitem excubitorum, de comite excubitorum caesarem, de caesare imperatorem, nec solum hoc, sed etiam patrem imperatorum feci.* (6) *Sacerdotes meos tuae manui commisi, et tu a meo servitio milites tuos subtrahis?* (7) *Responde, rogo, piissime domine, servo tuo, quid venienti et haec dicenti responsurus es in judicio Domino*

tuo?“ (8) *Et post pauca:* (9) *„Requirat, rogo, Dominus meus, quis prior imperator talem legem dederit, et subtilius aestimet, si dari debuerit.“*
(10) *Item Theodoro medico, post aliqua:* (11) *„Peccatis, inquit, meis facientibus, ex quorum suggestione vel consilio nescio transacto anno, talem in republica sua legem protulit imperator, ut nullus qui actionem publicam egit, nullus qui officio vel manu signatus, vel inter milites habitus est, ei in monasterio converti liceat, nisi forte militia ejus fuerit expleta.* (12) *Quam legem primum, sicut hi dicunt, qui leges veteres noverunt, Julianus protulit, de quo scimus omnes, quantum a Deo aversus fuerit.“*

Ed.: PL 75,160

Konkordanz: (1) = Ioh.; (2) = 3,61,15; (3) = 3,61,16; (4) = 3,61,17; (5) = 3,61,18; (6) = 3,61,19; (7) = 3,61,20; (8) = Ioh.; (9) = 3,61,24; (10) = Ioh.; (11) = 3,64,3 (bis *protulit*) und 6 (ab *ut nullus*); (12) = 3,64,7

Abweichungen von den Briefen: (2) *enim potestas* Ep., *potestas* Ioh.; (2) *caelitus* Ep., *coelitus* Ioh.; (2) *adiuventur* Ep., *adjuventur* Ioh.; (2) *caelorum* Ep., *coelorum* Ioh.; (2) *caelesti* Ep., *coelesti* Ioh.; (3) *Christo* Ep., *Domino nostro Jesu Christo* Ioh.; (4) *Ad haec* Ep., *At haec* Ioh.; (4) *respondit* Ep., *respondebit* Ioh.; (5) *scubitorum* Ep., *excubitorum* Ioh.; (6) *subtrahis* Ep., *subtrahis?* Ioh.; (7) *iudicio* Ep., *judicio* Ioh.; (9) *debuit dari* Ep., *dari debuerit* Ioh.; (11) *Peccatis autem* Ep., *Peccatis, inquit,* Ioh.; (11) *protulit* Ep., *protulit imperator* Ioh.; (11) *ut quisquis... Praecepit enim* fehlt Ioh.; (11) *optio* Ep., *officio* Ioh.; (11) *fuit habitus* Ep., *habitus est* Ioh.; (11) *si militia eius* Ep., *militia ejus* Ioh.; (12) *sicuti* Ep., *sicut hi* Ioh.; (12) *Iulianus* Ep., *Julianus* Ioh.; (12) *Deo adversus fuit* Ep., *a Deo aversus fuerit* Ioh.

Übersetzung:

(1) Weiterhin wurde unter Maurikios, dem damaligen sehr habgierigen und zugleich sehr räuberischen Kaiser, durch den Ratschlag seiner Feinde ein sehr verderbliches Gesetz erlassen, dass es keinem der Soldaten, der natürlich an der Hand gezeichnet war, erlaubt ist, (in ein Kloster) einzutreten, neben Weiterem antwortete er [= Gregor] so: [...] (8) Und etwas später: [...].

(10) Derselbe dem Arzt Theodorus nach Anderem: [...]

6) Ivo von Chartres, Decretum 10,124 und 10,128–129

(124,1) *Legem quam piissimus imperator dedit, ne fortasse hi qui militiae vel rationibus sunt publicis obligati, dum causarum suarum periculum fugiunt, ad ecclesiasticum habitum veniant, vel in monasteriis convertantur, vestrae studui fraternitati transmittere. Hoc maxime excitat, quod hi qui saeculi actionibus implicati sunt, in clero ecclesiae praepropere suscipiendi non sunt,* (2) *quia dum in eccle-*

siastico habitu non dissimiliter quam vixerant vivunt, nequaquam student saeculum fugere, sed mutare. (3) *Quod si etiam tales quoque monasterium petunt, suscipiendi nullo modo sunt nisi prius actionibus publicis fuerint absoluti.* (4) *Si qui vero ex militaribus numeris, in monasteriis converti festinant, non sunt temere suscipiendi, nisi eorum vita subtiliter fuerit inquisita.* (5) *Et justa normam regularem debent in suo habitu per triennium probari, et tunc monachicum habitum Deo auctore suscipere.*

(128,1) *Porro Mauricio tunc avarissimo, simulque rapacissimo principi suggestionibus inimicorum suorum funestissimam legem ferenti, ut nulli militum qui videlicet in manu signatus fuisset, converti liceret: inter caetera sic respondit:* (2) *Ad hoc potestas super omnes homines pietati dominorum meorum coelitus data est, ut qui bona appetunt, adjuventur, ut coelorum via largius pateat, ut terrestre regnum coelesti regno famuletur.* (3) *Et ecce aperta voce dicitur, ut ei qui semel in terrena militia signatus fuerit, nisi aut expleta militia aut pro debilitate corporis repulsus, Christo militare non liceat.* (4) *Ad haec etiam per me servum ultimum suum et vestrum Christus respondet dicens:* (5) *„Ego te de notario comitem excubitorum, de comite excubitorum Caesarem, de Caesare imperatorem, non solum hoc, sed etiam patrem imperatorum feci.* (6) *Sacerdotes tuae manui commisi, et tu a meo servitio milites tuos subtrahis?"* (7) *Responde, rogo [ergo], piissime domine, servo tuo, quid venienti et haec dicenti responsurus es in judicio Domino tuo?* (8) *Et post pauca:* (9) *„Requirat ergo Dominus misericors" quis prior imperatorum talem legem dederit, et subtilius aestimet si dari debuerit.*

(129,1) *Peccatis, inquit, meis facientibus, ex quorum suggestione vel consilio, nescio, talem in republica sua legem protulit imperator, ut nullus qui actionem publicam egit, nullus qui officio vel manu signatus, vel inter milites fuit habitus, ei in monasterio converti liceat, nisi forte militia ejus fuerit expleta.* (2) *Quam legem primum (sicut hi dicunt qui leges veteres noverunt) Julianus protulit, de quo scimus omnes quantum Deo adversus fuit.*

Ed.: PL 161, 728AB und 729B–730 A

Konkordanz: (124,1) = 8,10,1; (2) = 8,10,2; (3) = 8,10,3; (4) = 8,10,4; (5) = 8,10,5; (128,1) = Ioh. 3,50,1; (2) = Ioh. 3,50,2; (3) = Ioh. 3,50,3; (4) = Ioh. 3,50,4; (5) = Ioh. 3, 50,5; (6) = Ioh. 3,50,6; (7) = Ioh. 3,50,7; (8) = Ioh. 3,50,8; (9) = Ioh. 3,50,9; (129,1) = Ioh. 3,50,11; (2) = Ioh. 3,50,12

Abweichungen: (124,1) *exhortans* Ep., *excitat* Ivo; (1) *propere* Ep., *praepropere* Ivo; (2) *vixerunt* Ep., *vixerant* Ivo; (3) *quique* Ep., *quoque* Ivo; (3) *a rationibus* Ep., *actionibus* Ivo; (4) *suptiliter* Ep., *subtiliter* Ivo; (5) *iuxta* Ep., *justa* Ivo; (128,1) *Mauritio* Ioh., *Mauricio* Ivo; (1) *liceret converti* Ioh., *converti liceret* Ivo; (4) *Domino nostro Jesu Christo* Ioh., *Christo* Ivo; (5) *At haec* Ioh., *Ad haec* Ivo; (5) *ecce per me* Ioh., *etiam per me* Ivo; (5) *respondebit Christus* Ioh., *Christus respondet* Ivo; (6) *nec*

solum Ioh., *non solum* Ivo; (7) *Sacerdotes meos* Ioh., *Sacerdotes* Ivo; (8) *rogo* Ioh., *rogo* [*ergo*] Ivo; (10) *Requirat, rogo, Dominus meus* Ioh., *Requirat ergo Dominus misericors* Ivo; (10) *imperator* Ioh., *imperatorum* Ivo; (129,1) *transacto anno* Ioh., fehlt Ivo; (1) *habitus est* Ioh., *fuit habitus* Ivo; (2) *a Deo aversus fuerit* Ioh., *Deo adversus fuit* Ivo

7) Wenricus Scolasticus Trevirensis, Epistola 4

(1) *Unde cum legem de militibus ad conversionem minime recipiendis imperator promulgari iussisset, legem quidem latam, quam Deo adversari videbat, statim exhorruit, sed tamen illam ex iussione principis ad omnium notitiam ipse, qui eam inprobabat, insinuare non distulit.* (2) *Expleta humiliter oboedientia ad eundem imperatorem.* (3) *Ego, inquit, iussioni subditus eandem legem per diversas terrarum partes feci transmitti; et quia lex ipsi omnipotenti Deo minime concordet, ecce per suggestionis meae paginam serenissimis dominis nuntiavi.* (4) *Utrobique ergo quae debui exsolvi, qui et imperatori oboedientiam prebui et pro Deo quod sensi non tacui.*

Ed.: Libelli de lite I 291,10 – 18

Konkordanz: (1) = Wenr.; (2) = Wenr.; (3) = 3,61,30; (4) = 3,61,31

Abweichungen: (3) *Ego quidem iussioni* Ep., *Ego, inquit, iussioni* Wenr.; (3) *subiectus* Ep., *subditus* Wenr.; (3) *lex ipsa* Ep., *lex ipsi* Wenr.; (4) *exolvi* Ep., *exsolvi* Wenr.; (4) *praebui* Ep., *prebui* Wenr.; (4) *minime tacui* Ep., *non tacui* Wenr.

8) Manegoldus, Ad Gebehardum 45

(1) *Proponunt enim:* (2) *Ego, inquid Gregorius, iussioni subditus eandem legem per diversas terrarum partes feci transmitti;* (3) *usque utrobique ergo quod debui exsolvi, qui et imperatori obedientiam prebui et pro Deo quod sensi minime tacui.*

Ed.: Libelli de lite I 388,26 – 29

Konkordanz: (1) = Maneg.; (2) = 3,61,30; (3) = 3,61,31

Abweichungen: (2) Ego quidem iussioni Ep., Ego, inquid Gregorius, iussioni Maneg.; (2) subiectus Ep., subditus Maneg.; (2) et quia … nuntiavi fehlt Maneg.; (3) Utrobique Ep., usque utrobique Maneg.; (3) quae debui Ep., quod debui Maneg.; (3) exolvi Ep., exsolvi Maneg.; (3) boedientiam praebui Ep., obedientiam prebui Maneg.

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Bessarion's date of birth: a new assessment of the evidence

Abstract: The cardinal Bessarion was a foremost figure of the Italian Renaissance and late Byzantium. However, some of the details of his life are not yet securely established, especially his date of birth. Over the last century, scholars have proposed dates ranging from 1400 to 1408. In this study, I critically interrogate the two most commonly accepted dates (1400 and 1408). In the past, scholars have relied on the age requirements of canon law or the testimony of Italian observers to determine Bessarion's age. By critically examining the validity of these two assumptions, I reprioritize the evidence, approximating the cardinal's year of birth as 1403.

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Striding the boundary between East and West, Greek and Latin, the cardinal Bessarion (d. 1472) was a major figure in the transmission of Greek learning to the Latin West.[1] Born in Trebizond (mod. Trabzon) on the Black Sea coast, Bessarion

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1 There is no full biography of Bessarion in English. For a brief summary of his life, see A. M. Talbot, Bessarion. *ODB* 1, 285. The standard scholarly biographies are L. Mohler, Kardinal Bessarion als Theologe, Humanist und Staatsmann. Paderborn 1923, vol. 1; L. Labowsky, Bessarione. *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani* 9 (1967) 686 – 696. For his life up to 1458, E. Mioni, Vita del cardinale Bessarione. *Miscellanea Marciana* 6 (1991) 11 – 215, is superior. There is also a recent biography by G. L. Coluccia, Basilio Bessarione: lo spirito greco e l'Occidente. Florence 2009. For a brief outline of his life, M. Zorzi, Cenni sulla vita e la figura del cardinale Bessarione, in A. Cuna / A. Gatti / S. Ricci (eds.), Bessarione e l'Umanesimo: catalogo della mostra. Venice 1994, 1 – 19.

played a key role at the council of Ferrara-Florence in 1438–1439 as a spokesperson for the Eastern Orthodox delegation. After the union of the Orthodox and Catholic Churches was ratified, Bessarion joined the Catholic Church as a cardinal, and almost became pope in 1455. Bessarion was a key figure in the Italian Renaissance. His library of rare Greek manuscripts, studiously acquired after the Turkish conquest of Constantinople in 1453, now forms the core of the Greek holdings of the Bibliotheca Marciana. During the 1460s, Bessarion was also engaged in what modern scholars have deemed one of the great literary debates of the century with George of Trebizond over whether Plato or Aristotle's philosophy better conformed to Christian belief. The fruit of this dispute was Bessarion's famous *Refutation of Blasphemies against Plato* (*In Calumniatorem Platonis*), which opened the door to the study of Plato in the West.[2] As one of the first books ever printed on the printing press, the *Refutation* profited from the power of this new technology to sway public opinion.[3]

As a central player in the Renaissance, Bessarion has naturally inspired a large amount of scholarly interest. Nevertheless, some issues still remain open in his biography. The cardinal's date of birth has been the subject of considerable scholarly discussion over the last century, with dates postulated that range from 1400 to 1408. Opinion has varied and a wide variety of evidence has been marshalled in support of each proposal, but no consensus has emerged. This study will critically reexamine previous arguments for the cardinal's date of birth through a rigorous analysis of the source material. In the first section of this paper, I will review the debate up to this point, outlining the major evidence and arguments on which they base their claims. In the following sections, I will then test the strength of these theses against other contemporary data. It will be shown that the two most commonly accepted dates for Bessarion's birth (1400 and 1408) are built on shaky foundations. By reprioritizing the existing evidence, this paper will suggest a better approximation of Bessarion's date of birth, namely 1403.

1. History of the question

Since the nineteenth century, scholars have put forward three major hypotheses regarding Bessarion's date of birth. The oldest and now generally least accepted

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2 L. MOHLER, Kardinal Bessarion, vol. 2. Paderborn 1926. For the debate in general, J. HANKINS, Plato in the Italian Renaissance. Leiden 1990.

3 ZORZI, Cenni (as footnote 1 above) 15.

position derives from a Latin obit at the end of Niccolò Capranica's eulogy of Bessarion that states, "Vixit Nicenus annis 69, mensibus 10, diebus 16." Based on this calculation, Bessarion's late-nineteenth-century biographer Henri Vast neatly calculated Bessarion's date of birth as January 2, 1403, given that Bessarion died on November 18, 1472.[4] The tidiness of this date has a certain appeal about it, and it is what one finds in some of the more readily accessible reference works, such as volume 1 of Ludwig Mohler's seminal *Kardinal Bessarion* (1923) and Lotte Labowsky's entry in the *Dizionario biografico degli Italiani* (1967).

But as the twentieth century wore on, scholars pushed back against this date. The now most commonly accepted position derives from an idea first advanced by Pierre Ioannou and then independently developed by Henri Saffrey in an influential article on the autograph manuscripts of Bessarion.[5] It runs like this. Canon 14 of the Quinisext Council in Trullo (691–692 A.D.) forbade men from being ordained deacons or priests until they had reached the ages of 25 and 30, respectively, under pain of being removed from office.[6] Saffrey believed that twelfth-century Byzantine commentaries on canon law by Alexios Aristenos, John Zonaras, and Theodore Balsamon indicated that the Byzantines strictly enforced and respected the canon in the fifteenth century. They would not have unlawfully ordained the future cardinal. Since Bessarion himself, in his *curriculum vitae* scribbled into Venice, Marc. Zan. gr. 14 (= Marcianus 395), tells us the dates at which he obtained the deaconship and priesthood (December 1425 and October 1430, respectively), then his date of birth must fall in 1399/1400.[7] This date has enjoyed wide acceptance and is even included in the *Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*'s entry on Bessarion.[8]

In 1992, John Monfasani assembled and reviewed the vast body of data that Bessarion and his contemporaries provided about his age in order to arrive at a new approximation.[9] Although previous scholarship had doubted the authentic-

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4 H. Vast, Le Cardinal Bessarion. Paris 1878, 2.

5 P. Ioannou, Un opuscule inédit du cardinale Bessarion: le panégyrique de Saint Bessarion anachorète égyptien. *Analecta Bollandiana* 45 (1947) 107 note 1; H. Saffrey, Recherches sur quelques autographes du Cardinal Bessarion, in: *Mélanges Eugène Tisserant*. Vatican City 1964, 273–275.

6 Ed. H. Ohme, Concilium Constantinopolitanum a. 691/2 in Trullo habitum. *ACC*, 2/4. Berlin 2013, 31.

7 The Greek text is published in Saffrey, Recherches (as footnote 5 above) 270–271; see also P. Schreiner, Die byzantinischen Kleinchroniken I. *CFHB*, 12/1. Vienna 1975, 658–660.

8 Talbot, Bessarion (as footnote 1 above) 285.

9 J. Monfasani, Platina, Capranica, and Perotti: Bessarion's Latin eulogists and his date of birth, in M. Cortesi / E.V. Maltese (eds.), Bartolomeo Sacchi Il Platina (Piadena 1421–Roma 1481): Atti del Convegno internazionale (Trento, 22–23 ottobre 1990). Naples 1992, 97–136.

ity of Capranica's obit of Bessarion, Monfasani proved that Bessarion's eulogist Capranica or a near contemporary authored the obit. However, he doubted that Capranica actually knew how old Bessarion was when he died. Responding to the Ioannou/Saffrey hypothesis, he argued that the canonical age-requirement would have been followed only in an ideal society and not the real world of late Byzantium, though he does not offer any evidence to support this position.[10] Instead, he builds his case upon the evidence of Bessarion's contemporaries. For example, Bessarion's friend and Latin ghostwriter Niccolò Perotti states, in the preface to his translation of Bessarion's funeral oration for Manuel II Palaiologos (1391–1425), that Bessarion was not yet twenty (*nondum vigesimum aetatis suae annum ingressus*) when he wrote this piece.[11] As Perotti was the author of a large two-volume biography of Bessarion, now lost, this data clearly should not have been neglected in favor of the Ioannou/Saffrey hypothesis. Under their hypothesis, Bessarion would have been approximately twenty-five when he wrote Manuel's funeral oration in 1425. The editor of Perotti's preface, Giovanni Mercati, had already noted this problem and suggested that Bessarion's date of birth probably fell around 1406.[12] But Monfasani went further than Mercati. Using the testimony of Ambrogio Traversari, who tells us that Bessarion was thirty (*tricenarius*) when Traversari made his acquaintance at the Council of Ferrara-Florence in 1438, Monfasani concludes that Bessarion must have been born around 1408, obtaining the deaconship and priesthood at the age of 17 and 22, respectively. He believed that scholars had long underestimated the youthful precociousness of the cardinal.[13] For Monfasani, Bessarion was a veritable child prodigy who had written mature works and obtained high honors as an adolescent, delivering, for example, Manuel's eulogy at the tender age of 17.[14]

Monfasani's hypothesis has subsequently enjoyed mixed approval. In recent years, based on the testimony of the chronicler Andrea Stanziali/Vidali di Schivenoglia that Bessarion was fifty at the council of Mantua in 1458, Thierry Ganchou has added his voice in support of Monfasani's position.[15] Similarly, Tommaso Bracchini has found that this date is corroborated by information provided by

10 Monfasani, Platina (as footnote 9 above) 115–116.

11 G. Mercati, Per la chronologia della vita e degli scritti di Niccolò Perotti archievescovo di Siponto. Rome 1925, 154.

12 Ibid., 73.

13 Ibid.,116–117.

14 Ibid., 119.

15 Th. Ganchou, Les ultimae voluntates de Manuel et Iôannès Chrysolôras et le séjour de Francesco Filelfo à Constantinople. *Bizantinistica* 7 (2005) 256 note 204.

the sixteenth-century genealogist Orsini, whose testimony, he tentatively suggests, ultimately derived from Perotti's biography of Bessarion.[16]

However, Monfasini's thesis has met with resistance. In his unfinished critical biography of the cardinal, Elpidio Mioni strongly argued for a return to 1400.[17] According to Mioni, Perotti exaggerates Bessarion's youth when he wrote his eulogy of Manuel II Palaiologos. Similarly, Traversari's assertion that Bessarion was a *tricenarius* at the time of the council can only mean that he was in his 30's. Then there is the testimony of Bessarion's panegyrists Bartolomeo Sacchi (Il Platina) and Niccolò Capranica that Bessarion had just left boyhood (*ubi primum a pueris excessit*) when he left Trebizond for Constantinople in 1416/7.[18] Thus, if Monfasani is correct, Bessarion could only have been about seven or eight at the time – hardly a teenager.[19] Mioni therefore falls back on the Ioannou-Saffrey thesis, believing that canon law would have been strictly followed.

Thus, there are currently two prevailing positions regarding Bessarion's date of birth, which place it in either 1400 or 1408. One recent study of Bessarion's early years rehashes both positions without taking a definitive stance.[20] The time is ripe for a skeptical reexamination of the question and, more broadly, an inquiry into age in Byzantium. Did the Byzantines faithfully follow canonical age requirements? Are fifteenth century age estimates accurate? At what age did Byzantines allow young and prodigious intellectuals such as Bessarion to climb the secular and ecclesiastical *cursus honorum?*

2. Bessarion's date of birth and canon law

Let us reexamine the Ioannou/Saffrey thesis and the issue of canon law, to which some scholars have faithfully clung. They are not alone in this regard, as the canonical age requirement has been widely used to give a minimum date of birth for

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16 T. Bracchini, Bessarione Comneno? La tradizione indiretta di una misconosciuta opera storica di Giano Lascaris come fonte biografico-genealogica. *Quaderni di Storia* 64 (2006) 87, 101–102.

17 Mioni, Vita (as footnote 1 above) 20–21.

18 Platina, Panegyricus, edited in *PG* 161 col. CV; Capranica, Funeral Oration, 406. Edited in Mohler, Kardinal Bessarion, vol. 3. 406.

19 Mioni, Vita (as footnote 1 above) 21.

20 B. Tambrun Krasker, Bessarion de Trébizonde à Mistra: un parcours intellectuel, in C. Märtl / Ch. Kaiser / Th. Ricklin (eds.) "Inter graecos latinissimus, inter latinos graecissimus": Bessarion zwischen den Kulturen. *Pluralisierung & Autorität*, 39. Berlin 2013, 7–9.

Byzantine intellectuals, such as, for example, the tenth-century historian Leo the Deacon.[21] But for all the weight scholarship has given to the legal age-requirement of canon law, it is only quite recently that scholars have begun to question how faithfully the Byzantines clung to it. In a recent chapter on the youthful ordination of Greek patriarchs and Latin popes between the ninth and eleventh centuries, Evangelos Chrysos has demonstrated that a mix of practical needs and political pressures caused the Byzantines to disregard canon law age requirements for deacons, priests, and the patriarch himself.[22]

Perhaps, the most egregious examples of these child ordinations took place under Leo VI (886 – 912) and Romanos Lakapenos (920 – 944). Even though the emperor Basil I (867– 886) and Leo recodified the Justinianic Code with their *Basilika* and made canon 14 imperial law,[23] Leo flagrantly violated the canon shortly after coming to the throne in 886. He forced the patriarch Photios I (877– 886) to resign and replaced him with his brother Stephen I (886 – 893), who was just nineteen, in a grab for control of the Church.[24] In the tenth century, a number of youthful patriarchs obtained high office in spite of canon 14. Besides Stephen I, the patriarchs Tryphon (928 – 931) and Theophylaktos Lekapenos (b. c. 914, r. 933 – 956) were ordained at young ages. The patriarch Tryphon had been 12 and 15 when he obtained the deaconship and priesthood, respectively. Theophylaktos, the son of the emperor Romanos I Lakapenos (920 – 44), was nineteen when he became patriarch after having attained the deaconship and priesthood at 15 and 18, respectively. Our source for the age of these men is Theodore Daphnopates' letter to the metropolitan of Herakleia in 931– 932.[25] In this letter, Daphnopates attempted to convince the metropolitan to drop his objections to Theophylaktos becoming patriarch at such a young age, citing Stephen and Tryphon as precedents. As the son of the emperor, Theophylaktos was essentially meant to be a puppet patriarch, strengthening the emperor's hold over

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21 N. Panagiotakes, Λέων ὁ Διάκονος. Athens 1965, 8 – 9.

22 E. Chrysos, Minors as patriarchs and popes, in A. Beihammer / B. Krönung / C. Ludwig (eds.) Prosopon Rhomaikon: ergänzende Studien zur Prosopographie der mittelbyzantinischen Zeit. *Millennium-Studien*, 68. Boston 2017, 221 – 239.

23 Basilika 3, 1, 25; ed. H.J. Scheltema / N. van der Wal, Basilicorum libri LX. Groningen 1955 – 88.

24 On Theophylaktos's age and elevation, see V. Stanković, When was Theophylaktos Lakapenos born? *JÖB* 55 (2005) 59 – 69; Chrysos, Minors (as footnote 22 above) 229 – 231.

25 Theodore Daphnopates, Letter 2; ed. J. Darrouzès / L. G. Westerink, Théodore Daphnopatès. Correspondance. Paris 1978. On the controversy, see ibid., 11 – 14. A. Kazhdan, Theophylaktos Lekapenos. *ODB* 3, 2068, is mistaken when he says that Theophylaktos was 16 when elevated to the patriarchate. He was probably 19.

both Church and state.[26] The metropolitan of Herakleia may have protested, but in the end his objections had no force. Romanos Lakapenos succeeded in having his son made patriarch in February 933, at the age of nineteen. The take-away from this letter is the young ages at which males could become deacons and priests without considerable pushback from the Church even in the ninth and tenth centuries. Churchmen seem to have raised their voices only when the youthful priest was slated to receive the highest priesthood in the land.

After the egregious power grabs of the ninth and tenth centuries, Byzantine emperors generally refrained from appointing youths to the patriarchate in the following centuries. However, youthful ordinations of deacons and priests continued throughout the empire for a variety of reasons. Among Bessarion's contemporaries there are a number of examples of relatively ordinary people who were promoted prematurely, if the bishop was willing. Take for example the *curriculum vitae* reported by a monk named Matthew, who tells us that he was born in August 1431, and promoted to deacon in November 1456, and hieromonk in November 1458 by the metropolitan of Ankara.[27] Attaining the priesthood at age twenty-seven, this man was in clear violation of canon law, even if he had obtained the deaconship at the canonical age of twenty-five. Consider also Theodore Agallianos' letter to the bishop of Ephesos dating from after 1467.[28] Agallianos accuses the bishop of corrupting the morals of the city and allowing simony to flourish. Giving an example, he attacks the bishop for accepting a bribe from the parents of a youth named Christophoros and making him a priest even though he was not yet twenty years old.[29] Incidentally, the canonical age requirement was a touchy subject for Agallianos himself. When Agallianos was accused of violating numerous canons and laws, his accusers tacked on a charge of violating canon 14. Agallianos personally assures us that his ordinations were in accordance with the canon in his preserved response to their accusations.[30]

However, we can even find instances where clerics and monks idealized noncanonical ordinations. In the early thirteenth century, the monk Akakios of the Mar Saba monastery in the Judaean desert wrote a life of the semi-mythical

26 On his place in Romanos' government, S. Runciman, The Emperor Romanus Lecapenus and his reign: a study of tenth-century Byzantium. Cambridge 1929, 76–77.
27 J. Darrouzès, Notes d'Asie Mineure. *Archeion Pontou* 26 (1964) 38–39.
28 C. G. Patrineles, Ὁ Θεόδωρος Ἀγαλλιανὸς ταυτιζόμενος πρὸς τὸν Θεοφάνην Μηδείας καὶ οἱ ἀνέκδοτοι λόγοι του. Athens 1960, 54–55.
29 Theodore Agallianos, Letter 6, ed. S. Lampros, Ἐπανέκδοσις ἐπιστολῶν τοῦ μητροπολίτου Μηδείας Θεοφάνους. *NE* 10 (1913), 269–270.
30 Theodore Agallianos, On his conduct or rather against his accusers, 95–96, 104; ed. Patrineles, Θεόδωρος (as footnote 28 above).

founders of the Trapezuntine Soumela monastery, Barnabas and Sophronios, at the behest of some Soumelan monks. As the monks did not know anything about the founders, Akakios invented a life of the founders (né Basileios and Soterichos, respectively), alleging that Basileios/Barnabas became metropolitan of Athens at the canonical age of 30, while Soterichos/Sophronios "piously illuminated by the divine" became deacon at 18.[31] The canonical age requirement for the metropolitan mattered, but a pious youth could easily be raised to the deaconship.

Although heavily fictional, the evidence of this life, when taken together with harder evidence, shows the flexibility of canonical age requirements in the later Byzantine era. Canon 14 clearly mattered to people, but its enforcement was not necessarily absolute. Although removal from office was the specified remedy for transgressors, there is no evidence in the historical record that anyone was ever punished for violating the canonical age requirement.[32] One suspects that the Church usually had more pressing issues with which to deal. In general, the canonical age requirement seems to have elicited rage from the clergy either when a person was elevated too far too soon, such as the patriarchs Stephen and Theophylaktos, or as a subsidiary charge to pad more serious accusations, such as we find in the case of Agallianos and his accusers.

Undoubtedly, the issue could be contentious for some clergymen, but if one had a reputation for piety or a powerful patron such as an emperor or bishop, such obstacles could easily be surmounted. Bessarion became a monk at a very early age and was surrounded by such powerful individuals from a young age. He enjoyed the patronage of the former metropolitan of Trebizond (later the metropolitan of Monemvasia), Dositheos. Then there was the emperor John VIII Palaiologos, under whose government Bessarion received high honors at a young age, such as delivering a funeral oration for John's father Manuel Palaiologos and serving as a spokesperson for the Byzantine delegation to Trebizond, where he delivered a speech before the local emperor, Alexios IV (1417–1429).[33] Eventually, through John's intervention Bessarion would even become bishop of

31 Akakios Sabbaites, Life of Saints Barnabas and Sophronios, 70; ed. P.S. Marines, Οἱ ἅγιοι Βαρνάβας καὶ Σωφρόνιος, οἱ κτίτορες τῆς μονῆς Σουμελᾶ. Patras 2012. On the date and composition of the life, see A.M. Talbot, A unique saint's life of the early 13th c.: Akakios Sabbaites' Vita of Saints Barnabas and Sophronios, in A. Ödekan / E. Akyürek / N. Necipoğlu (eds.), Change in the Byzantine world in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Istanbul 2010, 57–62.

32 As pointed out by Chrysos, Minors (as footnote 22 above) 223.

33 On these events, see section 4 below.

Nikaia and spokesperson for the Byzantine delegation at Florence.[34] Looking back on his rise in his *Encyclical Letter to the Greeks* of 1463, Bessarion certainly recalled that imperial favor was the reason that he obtained, "offices and positions of authority well beyond my age not because of my virtue but rather their (i.e., the emperors) own goodness."[35] Thus, it is entirely possible that Bessarion could have been ordained early with these two backers in his corner, if they had wanted to fast-track his career.

As such, the Ioannou/Saffrey thesis on Bessarion's date of birth should be rejected. If a largely unknown individual such as the hieromonk Matthew could bypass canon law, surely Bessarion could ascend the Church hierarchy at a young age. He had powerful connections, and it would have been difficult for potential accusers to verify his age, as he came from Trebizond, at the very limits of the Byzantine world.

3. The Monfasani thesis

Next let us turn to the evidence accumulated in favor of the Monfasani thesis. For the casual observer, the round numbers of Bessarion's age given by Ambrogio Traversari (30) and Vidali di Schivenoglia (50) should immediately raise suspicions. The numbers are tidy, which may indicate that these Italian observers did not know Bessarion's exact age but tried to estimate it, rounding up or down. Nevertheless, Monfasani is emphatic that when Traversari says Bessarion was a *tricenarius*, this could only mean thirty and not that Bessarion was in his thirties. Therefore, let us test the reliability of these Italian observers.

Vidali di Schivenoglia's chronicle will serve as a test case. Schivenoglia describes individually the cardinals and Pope present at the council of Mantua in 1458. A typical entry (in this case on Bessarion) runs, "Lo gardenalle Nizeno era anny 50 e si era grego, barbazuto... (The cardinal of Nicaea was 50 years old. He was Greek and had a beard)."[36] As Schivenoglia provides the age of all the car-

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34 Sylvester Syropoulos, History 3, 23, ed. V. Laurent, Les "Mémoires" du Grand Ecclésiarque de l'Église de Constantinople Sylvestre Syropoulos sur le concile de Florence (1438–1439). Paris 1971.

35 Bessarion, Encyclical Letter, *PG* 161 col. 461C–D. For further discussion of this important passage, see section 4 below.

36 Excerpts from Schivenoglia's unpublished chronicle are published throughout R. Signorini, Alloggi di sedici cardinali presenti alla dieta in A. Calzona / F. P. Fiore / A. Tenenti / C. Vasoli (ed.,) Il Sogno di Pio II e il viaggio di Roma a Mantova: atti del convegno internazionale, Mantova, 13–15 aprile 2000. Florence 2003, 328–48.

dinals and the Pope present at the council, several of whom came from well-known families, became Pope, or were well-known intellectuals, we can test the accuracy of his information against that of other, more reliable sources. In the table below, I synthesize this information. The second column gives Schivenoglia's approximation of each individual's age; the third what we know about their date of birth; the fourth their actual age at the council; and the fifth the difference between Schivenoglia's estimate and the person's actual age.

Name	**Age per Schivenoglia**	**Actual DOB**	**Actual Age at Council**	**Difference**
1. Pope Pius II	60	10/18/05[37]	53	+7
2. Cardinal Guillaume d'Estouteville	60	c. 1402 – 12.[38]	Unknown	Unknown
3. Cardinal Latino Orsini	58	c. 1416[39]	42	+16
4. Cardinal Isidore of Kiev	70	c. 1380 – 90[40]	Unknown	Unknown
5. Cardinal Pietro Barbo (later Pope Paul II r. 1464 – 1471)	50	2/23/17[41]	41	+9
6. Cardinal Alain de Coëtivy	58	11/8/1407.[42]	51	+7
7. Cardinal Giacomo Tebaldi	50	Unknown[43]	Unknown	Unknown

37 Enea Silvio Piccolomini, Commentaries 1, 2, ed. A. Van Heck, Pii II Commetarii rerum memorabilium que temporibus suis contigerunt, vol. 1. Città del Vaticano 1984.
38 M. J. Gill, Death and the cardinal: The two bodies of Guillaume d'Estouteville. *Renaissance Quarterly* 54 (2001) 347 – 388.
39 S. Corradini, Note sul cardinale Latino Orsini fondatore di S. Salvatore in Lauro, in ed. F. Benzi, Sisto IV. Le arti a Roma nel primo Rinascimento. Atti del Convegno internazionale di studi. Palazzo della Cancelleria Apostolica – ex Convento di S. Salvatore in Lauro. Roma, 23–25 ottobre 1997. Rome 2000, 126.
40 *PLP* 8300. See also D. Ziegler, Isidore de Kiev, apôtre de l'Union florentine. *Union des Eglises* 13 (1936),395; P. Schreiner, Ein byzantinischer Gelehrter zwischen Ost und West. Zur Biographie des Isidor von Kiew und seinem Besuch in Lviv (1436). *BollGrott* 3 (2006) 216.
41 Michael Canensius, Life of Paul II, ed. G. Zippel, Le vite di Paolo II di Gaspare da Verona e Michele Canensi. Città di Castello 1904, 76.
42 On the life of Alain de Coëtivy, see R. Harrouet, Une famille de bibliophiles au XVe siècle: les Coëtivys. *Bulletin et mémoire de la societé archéologique du départment d'Ille-et-Villaine* 102 (1999), 160 – 166.
43 On Tebaldi, see A. M. Corbo, Il testamento del cardinale Giacomo Tebaldi. *Commentari: rivista di critical e storia dell'arte* 24 (1974) 241 – 243; G. Moroni, Dizionario di erudizione storico-ecclesiastica da s. Pietro sino ai nostri giorni. Venice 1850, 250.

8. Vice Chancellor Rodrigo de Borja (later Pope Alexander VI r. 1492 – 1503)	25	1/1/1431[44]	27	-2
9. Cardinal Juan de Mella	60	1397[45]	61	-1
10. Cardinal Filippo Calandrini	50	1403[46]	55	-5
11. Cardinal Prospero Colonna	68	c. 1400 – 10[47]	Unknown	Unknown
12. Patriarch Ludovico Trevisan	60	1401[48]	57	+3
13. Cardinal Jean Rolin	60	1408[49]	50	+10
14. Cardinal Luis Juan de Milà y de Borja	38	1432[50]	26	+12
15. Cardinal Bessarion	50	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown
16. Cardinal Juan de Torquemada	60	1388[51]	70	-10
17. Cardinal Nicholas of Cusa	54	1401[52]	57	-3

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44 G. B. Picotti / M. Sanfilippo, Alessandro VI, in M. Bray (ed.,) Enciclopedia dei Papi. Rome 2000. Online at http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/alessandro-vi_(Enciclopedia-dei-Papi)/.
45 His tombstone inscription and age at death are recorded in V. Forcella, Iscrizioni delle chiese e d'altri edificii di Roma, 3. Rome 1873, 212, no. 498.
46 C. Gennaro, Calandrini, Filippo. *Dizionario biografico degli italiani*, 16. Rome 1973, 450–452.
47 F. Petruchi, Prospero Colonna. *Dizionario biografico degli italiani* 27. Rome 1982. Available online at: http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/prospero-colonna_res-0a9a221b-87eb-11dc-8e9d-0016357eee51_(Dizionario-Biografico)/
48 P. Paschini, Ludovico Cardinal Camerlengo († 1465). Rome 1939, 7.
49 The life of Jean Rolin lacks a critical biographical study. Most sources on his life date back to the nineteenth century. C. Bigarne's Étude historique sur le chancelier Rolin et sa famille. Dijon 1850, 29, gives 1408 for his date of birth, but he does not cite any source for the year. Bibliography on Rolin's life is helpfully assembled by F. Joubert, Tel un prince dans son diocès, Jean Rolin, cardinal évêque d'Autun, in F. Joubert (ed.), L'artiste et le clerc: commandes artistiques des grands ecclésiastiques à la fin du moyen âge (XIVe à XVIe siècle). Paris 2006, 106 note 8.
50 The date given for del Mila's birth is 1408, but his life lacks a critical study. On him, J. Goñi, Juan Luis del Mila, in Q. A. Vaquero / T. M. Martínez / J.V. Gatell (eds.), Diccionario de historia eclesiástica de España. Suplemento. Madrid 1987, 489 – 92; P. L. Llorens y Raga, Episcopologio de la diócesis de Segorbe-Castellón, 1. Madrid 1973, 228 – 232.
51 S. Lederer, Der spanische Cardinal Johann von Torquemada: sein Leben und seine Schriften. Freiburg 1879, 14 note 4. The text of his tombstone is given in V. Forcella, Iscrizioni delle chiese e d'altri edificii di Roma, 1. Rome 1873, 149, no. 1598.
52 The evidence for 1401 is assembled by E. Meuthen, Acta Cusana: Quellen zur Lebensgeschichte des Nikolaus von Kues. Hamburg 1976, 1.

From the table above, it should be clear that Schivenoglia's age estimates tend to be round numbers or ages ending in 4 or 8. This in itself should make the scholar suspicious that Schivenoglia only had an approximate idea of the age of the cardinals at the council. When we compare his estimates with the actual ages of these men based on their own testimony, tombstones, or dates deduced by modern scholarship, it should be clear that Schivenoglia had inaccurate information about how old these men were. None of his estimates is correct. They tend to deviate from the age established by modern scholarship by 5–10 years, or an average of ±7.08 years. One might argue that using the dates assigned by modern scholarship is problematic because modern estimates of these men's date of birth are not always established on the testimony of the author themselves or their gravestone. There are only four individuals for whom we possess such information (Pope Pius II, Juan de Torquemeda, Nicholas of Cusa, Juan de Mella). But even in the case of authors who tell us the exact day that they were born, such as Pope Pius II, Schivenoglia overestimates Pius' age by 7 years, saying that the Pope was sixty when he was in fact fifty-three. Given Schivenoglia's inaccuracy, we should not give this chronicle any value as a source for *precisely* dating Bessarion's age. It hits the target but not the bullseye, which is what we are looking for here.

Schivenoglia's round figures undermine the Monfasani thesis. When one encounters a round number on its own, it is tempting to trust it, but there is a real danger in putting faith in it. Italians who wrote about Bessarion often seem to have estimated his age rather than actually knowing it. It is tempting to trust Traversari's estimate that Bessarion was thirty at Ferrara-Florence, but this number is probably quite flexible, give or take 5–10 years. Consider the testimony of Bessarion's colleague, the cardinal Jacopo Ammannati. In his diary, he says that Bessarion was now sixty (*iam sexagenarius*) when he departed on his final mission as papal envoy to the king of France in 1472.[53] If Monfasani is correct, Bessarion would have actually been 64. How can we trust Traversari over Ammannati when both men were only acquaintances of Bessarion? Thus, we need to be suspicious of age estimates that are whole numbers. They could easily be off by one to ten years, especially if an observer's estimate of the cardinal's age was based on his appearance. Bessarion could have looked younger than he actually was and thereby fooled observers.

53 Ed. E. Carusi, Il diario romano di Jacopo Gherardi da Volterra da VII settembre MCCCCLXIX al XII agosto MCCCCLXXXIV. Città del Castello 1904, 143.

4. Toward a new date

From a review of the Ioannou/Saffrey and Monfasani theses, we can see that the evidence used to support a date of 1400 or 1408 is problematic. Scholars have optimistically put too much weight on the canonical age-requirement of the Orthodox Church as a dating criterion, expecting Byzantines to have strictly followed the canon, or they have put too much faith in the age estimates of Italian observers, which provide only rough estimates of when a figure was born. Thus, the two prevailing theses on Bessarion’s exact date of birth are no longer tenable. It is time to take a fresh look at the evidence and reprioritize it in order to arrive at a more satisfactory answer.

The most valuable piece of evidence that we possess is Bessarion’s own testimony in his *Encyclical Letter to the Greeks* from 1463:

> Γνώριμον ἦν τοὐμὸν ὄνομα πᾶσι τοῖς ὁπηδήποτε φωνῆς ἑλληνικῆς ἐπαΐουσι· καὶ μήπω τέτταρα καὶ εἴκοσιν ἔτη γένομενος, αἰδοῖος ἡγεμόσι καὶ ἄρχουσι καὶ πᾶσιν ὑμῖν ὑπῆρχον, ποθεινότατος βασιλεῦσιν, οἳ οὐ τῶν ἡλικιωτῶν μόνον καὶ τῶν προβεβηκότων, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ἀξιώματα περιβεβλημένων ἡμᾶς προετίθουν, καὶ ἀξιώμασί τε καὶ ἀρχαῖς ταῖς ὑπὲρ τὴν ἡλικίαν, οὐ δι’ ἐμὴν ἀρετὴν, ἀλλὰ δι’ἰδίαν καλοκἀγαθίαν ἐκόσμουν.
>
> My name was known to everyone whosoever spoke Greek. Even though I was not yet twenty-four years old, I was revered by sovereigns, rulers, and all of you. I was most beloved to the emperors, who preferred me over not only my peers and superiors, but also those who already held an office. They adorned me with offices and positions of authority well beyond my age not because of my virtue but rather their own goodness.[54]

Although Bessarion is not specific about what moment in his life he is referring to, we know enough about his early life that we can guess. Specifically, he can only be referring to an early burst of political and literary activity that can be dated between 1425 and 1427. Unlike many other contemporary figures, we are fortunate in that Bessarion preserved his youthful writings for posterity in Marcianus 533 (788), so that we have a window on his early life and writings.[55] The first datable work that he produced was the funeral oration for the emperor Manuel II Palaiologos (1391–1425), who died in July 1425.[56] Bessarion subsequently served on an embassy to negotiate a marriage alliance between the Palaiologoi and the Grand Komnenoi of Trebizond, sometime between August 1426 and Au-

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54 Bessarion, Encyclical Letter (as footnote 32 above) col. 461CD.

55 See Saffrey, Recherches (as footnote 5) for an overview of the manuscript.

56 Ed. S. Lampros, Παλαιολόγεια καὶ Πελοποννησιακα, 3. Athens 1926, 284–290.

gust 1427.[57] During the embassy to his home city of Trebizond, Bessarion delivered a panegyric praising Trebizond's emperor Alexios IV (1417–1429) and his wife Theodora Kantakouzene.[58] After the death of Theodora in November 1426, Bessarion wrote three monodies to comfort the distraught emperor.[59] This was a highly productive time for Bessarion, during which he had the ear of emperors.

After 1427, Bessarion seems to have faded into the background for a time, as he returned to his studies and subsequently moved to the despotate of Morea, where he studied under the philosopher George Gemistos Plethon until roughly 1436. The next datable document in his portfolio are some verses written to honor the death of Cleofe Malatesta, the wife of the despot Theodore II Palaiologos in 1433.[60] Bessarion is not known to have held any imperial honors during this time. The next great honor he received was the bishopric of Nikaia in 1437. Thus, when Bessarion says he received high honors before he was 24, he is in all likelihood referring to the period of 1425–1427 when he first rose to prominence. This would put his date of birth between the fall of 1402 and the fall of 1404. If the Saffrey/Ioannou dating were correct, Bessarion would have first began accumulating "great honors" in 1423, much too early given the existing facts. Similarly, per the Monfasani thesis, Bessarion would, in his *Encyclical Letter*, be saying that he first became important in 1431, which is much too late.

Our next best evidence comes from Bessarion's panegyrist Platina, who probably interviewed the cardinal to produce his panegyric. Platina reports that Bessarion "had just left boyhood" (*ubi primum a pueris excessit*) when he departed Trebizond with his mentor Dositheos to pursue more advanced studies at Constantinople, in 1416–1417.[61] In Greek culture then just as today, boyhood

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57 August 1426 is the terminus post quem for the embassy, as the emperor John VIII's previous wife Sophia of Montferrat fled to the West in this month. For this event, Doukas, History 20.6, ed. V. Grecu, Istoria turco-bizantină (1341–1462). Bucharest 1958; George Sphrantzes, Chronicle, 14.2, ed. R. Maisano, Giorgio Sfranze: Cronaca. *CFHB*, 29. Rome 1990. August 1427 is the terminus ante quem for the embassy, as John's new bride Maria of Trebizond came to the city then. On which, see Sphrantzes, Chronicle, 14.3.

58 Ed. *Chrysanthos*, Βησσαρίωνος προσφώνημα πρὸς τὸν εὐσεβέστατον βασιλέα τῆς Τραπεζοῦντος Ἀλέξιον τὸν Μέγαν Κομνηνόν. *Archeion Pontou* 12 (1946) 117–130.

59 Monodies 2–3 are edited by A. Sideras, 25 unedierte byzantinische Grabreden. Thessalonike 1990, 349–359, 363–368. The first monody is edited separately by A. Sideras, Die byzantinischen Grabreden. *WBS*, 19. Vienna 1994, 531–536.

60 Ed. S. Lampros, Παλαιολόγεια (as footnote 53 above) 176.

61 Platina, Panegyricus (as footnote 19 above): *ubi primum a pueris excessit, cura parentum Byzantium transmittitur.* The phrase is repeated almost verbatim by Capranica, Funeral Oration (as footnote 19 above) 406. The date for Bessarion's departure from Trebizond is provided by V. Laurent, La succession episcopale de Trébizonde au moyen âge (additions et corrections). *Archeion Pontou* 21 (1956) 93–94.

ended around the age of fourteen.[62] If he were born in 1402–1404, Bessarion would have been 12–15 when he left his home city, which tallies well with his own testimony. By comparison, according to the Ioannou/Saffrey thesis he would have been 16–17, while according to the Monfasini thesis he would have been 8–9. Since Bessarion tells us in the prologue to his collected early works that he was born in Trebizond but really raised and educated in Constantinople, his date of birth must be later rather than earlier.[63] It is harder to believe that he would have thought that he was raised in Constantinople if he had arrived there as a 16–17 year old.

As I noted above, Capranica’s testimony that Bessarion was born on January 2, 1403, has long fallen out of favor. But the time is now ripe to reconsider this evidence. In the past, scholars ignored it because it contradicted the canonical age requirements.[64] But as this paper has suggested, Bessarion could easily have been ordained at a premature age if powerful people had supported his career, as they most certainly did. A second train of thought has raised suspicions about the obit, specifically a doubt that Capranica wrote it.[65] But as Monfasani showed long ago, Capranica probably did write it, or at least someone contemporary to Bessarion did.[66] Monfasani also suggested that Capranica’s malice or carelessness may have made him careless in his calculations of Bessarion’s life-span. However, this premise is not entirely satisfactory. Capranica’s funeral oration of Bessarion may be careless about the details of his life, but he need not have misrepresented Bessarion’s age, if one considers Capranica’s testimony in light of the other, more reliable evidence on Bessarion’s age that we have presented. If we follow Capranica, Bessarion would have been twenty-three between January 1426 and January 1427. As we have seen, this was a highly productive year for the future cardinal and exactly matches his own precise testimony in the *Encyclical Letter*.

In addition, Bessarion’s obit – *Vixit Nicenus annis 69, mensibus 10, diebus 16* – bears a resemblance to the language of tombstones from this period. For example, the tombstone of Bessarion’s fellow cardinal Juan de Mella reads, *Ioanni de*

62 Pseudo-Zonaras, Lexicon, letter pi p. 1495: Παῖς. ἀπὸ ἐτῶν ε′ ἕως ἐτῶν ιδ′; ibid., letter eta p. 927: Ἔφηβος. παῖς νέος ἤτοι ἐτῶν ιδ ἢ ιη; ed. J. A. H. Tittmann, Iohannis Zonarae lexicon ex tribus codicibus manuscriptis, 2 vols. Leipzig 1808.
63 Saffrey, Recherches (as footnote 5 above) 283: τοὔνομα Βησσαρίωνι, τὸ γένος ἐκ Τραπεζοῦντος, ἐν Κωνσταντινουπόλει τραφθέντι καὶ παιδευθέντι.
64 Ibid., 272–5.
65 Mioni, Vita (as footnote 1 above) 18–9. M. de Nichilo, I viri illustres del cod. Vat. lat. 3920. Rome 1997, 31–6, concurs with Monfasani.
66 Monfasani, Platina (as footnote 9 above) 108–115.

Mella...cardinali Zamoren sacrum. Vixit annis 70. Obiit 13 Octobris a salute nostra 1467, pontificis maximi Pauli II anno quarto ("Sacred...to Juan de Mella the cardinal of Zamora. He lived for 70 years. He died on October 13, 1467, year four of Pope Paul II").[67] Bessarion's original tombstone does not survive, as the Eugenia (now Bessarion) chapel where he was buried in the Basilica di dei Santi XII Apostoli in Rome was damaged by floods, the sack of the city in 1527, and the construction of other chapels. The chapel's current decoration is not original, but was restored in 1683.[68] Thus, it is entirely possible that Capranica or whoever scribbled this contemporary note obtained this information directly from Bessarion's original tombstone in Rome.

If Capranica's date is correct, it does not contradict the testimonies of Traversari and Schivenoglia. Bessarion would have been 35 and 55, respectively, when these individuals made his acquaintance, falling within the range of error evident from their estimates of 30 and 50. It is significant that when Bessarion departed on his final mission as papal envoy to the king of France in 1472, his fellow cardinal Jacopo Ammannati tells us that Bessarion was sixty (*iam sexagenarius*),[69] but another contemporary observer reports that the cardinal was seventy at his death later that year on the night of November 17–18, 1472.[70] If he was born in 1403, Bessarion would have straddled the border of both estimates at the age of 69.

Of course, problems remain for the proposed date 1403. There is still the testimony of Bessarion's friend Niccolò Perotti that Bessarion was not yet twenty years old when he wrote his funeral oration for Manuel Palaiologos. As Perotti tells us that he wrote a long two-volume work on the cardinal's life, it is hard to overlook his information. It would place Bessarion's birthdate between the summer of 1406 and the summer of 1407 at the latest. He would have been just a child of 10 – 11 when he left Trebizond – hardly a teenager. Similarly, Bessarion's own statement that he was "not yet 24" when he received high honors would place the first high honors that he received in 1429 – 1430. But from all indications, this was a fairly uneventful period in Bessarion's life, as the future car-

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67 Forcella, Iscrizioni (as footnote 45 above) 212, no. 498.
68 On Bessarion's funerary inscriptions, see Mohler, Kardinal Bessarion (as footnote 1 above) 1.427 – 8; Vast, Le cardinal (as footnote 4 above) 432 note 1. For the text of the 1683 inscription, see ibid., 461. The text is also printed in Forcella, Iscrizioni delle chiese e d'altri edificii di Roma, 2. Rome 1873, 270, no. 828.
69 Ammanati, Diary ed. Carusi (as footnote 53 above) 143.
70 Anonymous, Bessarione: note biografice. *Bessarione* 1 (1896 – 7) 10.

dinal had returned to his studies.[71] As noted above, Bessarion's collected works do not include any major writings from this period. We know that he became a priest during this period, but one doubts that anyone would have thought of this as a high honor, given his earlier accomplishments in the literary, diplomatic, and political arenas.[72] Therefore, Perotti's date simply does not fit the biographical information provided by Bessarion himself. Although Perotti should have known when Bessarion was born, Mioni correctly demonstrates that Perotti, prone to numerical exaggeration, underestimated the cardinal's age to make Bessarion seem more impressive.[73]

In light of all the evidence available on Bessarion's birth, it therefore seems most likely that the cardinal was born on January 2, 1403, or at least sometime between the fall of 1402 and the fall of 1404. The evidence provided by Capranica matches well the data that ultimately derives from Bessarion himself. Admittedly, many Italian observers offer conflicting estimates of Bessarion's age, but scholars should not optimistically trust them as they have in the past. A step forward is a step back.

71 For a detailed outline of this period, Tambrun-Krasker, Bessarion (as footnote 20 above) 11 – 15.

72 Saffrey, Recherches (as footnote 5 above) 271. Bessarion became a priest in October 1430.

73 Mioni, Vita (as footnote 1 above) 21.

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John Italos on the eternity of the world

A new critical edition of Quaestio 71 with translation and commentary

Abstract: The paper discusses John Italos' (d. after 1082) position on the eternity of the world. Italos was condemned for a series of heretical views including the thesis that the visible world was eternal. However, a treatise of Italos has been transmitted, in which he refutes the idea of an eternal kosmos and argues for its createdness in the beginning of time. The present study provides a critical edition of the Greek text of Italos' treatise (Quaestio 71 of his *Quaestiones quodlibetales*), provided with a first English translation and followed by a commentary that develops Italos' main arguments and identifies some of his sources. It is argued that Italos sincerely defended an anti-eternalist standpoint by adopting arguments, first and foremost, of the sixth-century philosopher John Philoponos. Moreover, Italos seems to react in Quaestio 71 to specific charges that had been brought up against him during his repeated synodal investigations in 1076/77 and 1082. His treatise against the eternity of the world appears to be a comprehensive apology of his orthodoxy.

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I.1 Introduction: the eternalist debate in late antiquity

The issue whether the world is eternal or created at the beginning of time was forcefully raised in Plato's school, notably by Aristotle, in connection with the interpretation of the creation story in the *Timaeus*.[1] The dispute was continued in Middle Platonism and became acute in the late third century, when Porphyry advanced strong arguments based on Aristotelian syllogisms in defense of the eternity of the world. Despite the imperially ordered destruction of his books,[2] many of Porphyry's arguments survived, most notably in the *Commentary on the Timaeus* by Proklos, the fifth-century *diadochos* of the Athenian Academy.[3] Moreover, Proklos contributed to the debate by enumerating eighteen arguments that aimed to prove that the world is eternal and that the creation story in the *Timaeus* has to be understood counterfactually:[4] were it not for the ordering activity of the Demiurge, the world would fall into complete chaos.[5] His arguments were challenged by John Philoponos (d. after 567) in his *On the Eternity of the World Against Proklos*, to whom[6] Simplikios reacted in turn.[7] In contrast to Pro-

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1 Aristoteles, De caelo I.10, 280a28 – 34 and Aristoteles, Physica VIII.1, 251b17 – 19.

2 See Sokrates: Kirchengeschichte, ed. G.Ch. Hansen. *GCS*, *Neue Folge*, 1. Berlin 1995, 33.21 – 34.1 (I.9.30).

3 See Procli Diadochi in Platonis Timaeum Commentaria 1, ed. E. Diehl. *Bibliotheca Scriptorum Graecorum et Romanorum Teubneriana*, 1728. Leipzig 1903, 391.4 – 396.26, where Proklos summarizes Porphyry's lost treatise, which refuted the arguments of Plutarch and Attikos on the creation of the world. English translation in Proclus: Commentary on Plato's Timaeus, Volume II. Book 2: Proclus on the causes of the cosmos and its creation, ed./transl. D.T. Runia / M. Share. Cambridge 2008, 263 – 271. A comparison of this section with Proklos' anti-creationist arguments in other parts of the Timaeus commentary show that he was using Porphyry's arguments throughout this work.

4 We use here the expression "counterfactual" and "factual" instead of the generally applied terms "allegorical" and "literalist" as the whole debate between eternalist and creationist exegetes of the *Timaeus* was about much subtler philosophical issues.

5 Put differently, the visible world was in discordant and disorderly motion prior to the ordering activity of the Demiurge, see Plato, Timaeus 30a: [...] οὕτω δὴ πᾶν ὅσον ἦν ὁρατὸν παραλαβὼν οὐχ ἡσυχίαν ἄγον ἀλλὰ κινούμενον πλημμελῶς καὶ ἀτάκτως, εἰς τάξιν αὐτὸ ἤγαγεν ἐκ τῆς ἀταξίας, [...]

6 Philoponus: De aeternitate mundi contra Proclum, ed. H. Rabe. *Bibliotheca Scriptorum Graecorum et Romanorum Teubneriana*, 1591. Leipzig 1899 (henceforth Philoponus, Contra Proclum).

7 Simplicii in Aristotelis Physicorum libros quattuor posteriores commentaria, Vol. 2, ed. H. Diels. *Commentaria in Aristotelem Graeca*, 10. Berlin 1895, 1326 – 1336. English translation in: Place, void, and eternity: Philoponus: Corollaries on place and void. With Simplicius:

klos and Simplikios, Philoponos interpreted the creation story of the *Timaeus* as factual.

The respective arguments that each philosopher presented were, first of all, exegetical in nature. The bone of contention was how to interpret properly this Platonic text by means of referring to the presupposed coherence in Plato's thought. Therefore, the debate over an eternal world was discussed as a hermeneutical problem. This does not mean, however, that religious issues were not implicit in the debate.[8]

Against Philoponus on the eternity of the world, transl. D. FURLEY/CH. WILDBERG. London 1991, 105–128.

8 The testimonies of (i) Pseudo-Justin, (ii) Philoponos and (iii) the tenth-century Byzantine encyclopedia, the *Suda*, make clear that Christians understood the arguments of Porphyry and Proklos as directed against them. (i) In Pseudo-Justin's *Christian questions to the gentiles* there are five gentile arguments against the Christians and in favor of the eternity of the world, which recognizably belong to Porphyry's treatise summarized by Proklos, see *Quaestiones christianae ad gentiles* in: S. Justini Philosophi et Martyris Opera, ed. J.C.TH. OTTO. *Corpus apologetarum Christianorum saeculi secundi*, 3/2. Jena 1848, 238–317. *Pace* J.P. MARTÍN, Las Quaestiones de Pseudo Justino: un lector Cristiano de Aristóteles en tiempos de Proclo. *Tópicos* 18 (2000) 115–141, who attributes to Proklos the doctrines expressed in the Ps-Justinian fragments, and *pace* B. GLEEDE, Johannes Philoponos und die christliche Apologetik: Die Widerlegungen des Proklos und Aristoteles und die Debatte des Schöpfungsproblems in der Schule von Gaza und bei Ps-Justin. *JbAC* 54 (2011) 73–97 at 82, who thinks that the pagan opponent of the *Quaestiones* is not a professional philosopher but just a pagan intellectual who develops his arguments on the basis of vulgar-Platonist monotheism, akin to the *Corpus hermeticum*. (ii) Furthermore, Philoponos emphatically points out that Proklos "has made it his one goal to arm himself by all available means against the truth of our Scriptures and, arguing against us as if we were inexperienced in these questions [...]" Translation in Philoponus: Against Proclus's 'On the Eternity of the World 1–5', transl. M. SHARE. *Ancient Commentators on Aristotle*. Ithaca, NY 2005, 4 and 61, slightly changed. Philoponus, Contra Proclum, 75.7–10: ἕνα δὲ σκοπὸν θέμενος τὸ ὁπωσοῦν τῇ ἀληθείᾳ τῶν καθ' ἡμᾶς λογίων ἀνθοπλίζεσθαι ὡς δὴ πρὸς ἀπείρους τῶν τοιούτων ἡμᾶς τοὺς λόγους ποιούμενος [...]. Cf. H.S. LANG/A.D. MACRO, Proclus: On the eternity of the world (de aeternitate mundi). Berkeley/Los Angeles/London 2001, 1–34, who propose that Proklos argued primarily against the exegesis by the Middle Platonists Plutarch and Attikos; B. GLEEDE, Platon und Aristoteles in der Kosmologie des Proklos. Ein Kommentar zu den 18 Argumenten für die Ewigkeit der Welt bei Johannes Philoponos. *Studien und Texte zu Antike und Christentum*, 54. Tübingen 2009, 1–34, who argues that Proklos' prime target was Aristotle. (iii) Moreover, the *Suda* characterizes Proklos' argumentation for the eternity of the world as an explicitly anti-Christian treatise; see Suidae Lexicon, Vol. 4 (Π–Ψ), ed. A. ADLER. *Lexicographici Graeci*, 1/4. Leipzig 1935, 210.14–18 (# 2473): οὗτός ἐστι Πρόκλος, ὁ δεύτερος μετὰ Πορφύριον κατὰ Χριστιανῶν τὴν μιαρὰν καὶ ἐφύβριστον αὐτοῦ γλῶσσαν κινήσας· εἰς ὃν ἔγραψεν Ἰωάννης, ὁ ἐπικληθεὶς Φιλόπονος, πάνυ θαυμασίως ὑπαντήσας κατὰ τῶν ι΄ καὶ η΄ ἐπιχειρημάτων αὐτοῦ καὶ δείξας αὐτὸν κἀν τοῖς Ἑλληνικοῖς, ἐφ' οἷς μέγα ἐφρόνει, ἀμαθῆ καὶ ἀνόητον. – This is Proklos, who was the second after Porphyry to move his foul and wanton tongue against the Christians. Against him was writing John, also called Philoponos, responding to

The sixth century saw a series of events that tipped the scale against the counterfactual exegesis of the *Timaeus*. Philosophical arguments like those advanced by Philoponos as well as by the Gazan Christians Aeneas, Prokopios and Zacharias were undoubtedly instrumental in this regard.[9] At the same time, political pressure against pagan teaching steadily increased, which curtailed the possibility for pagan Neoplatonists to vindicate publicly an exegesis that offended Christian sensitivities. This could already be seen in Ammonios' ill-famed "agreement" with Peter the Stammerer (Μογγός) (d. 490) in late fifth-century Alexandria – although we know as good as nothing on the content of this agreement[10] – while it became utterly clear with the closure of the Athenian Academy in 529. As a result, pagan voices grew weaker in challenging Christian sensitivities, which were conditioned by Christianity's inherent eschatological dimension enhanced by the calculus that the six thousand years of the world should come to an end in the early sixth century. It is important to recall that the late antique *Zeitgeist* of the early sixth century was infused with apocalyptic sentiments[11] that gave the – so far rather implicit – ethical and political

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his eighteen arguments in a very admirable manner and showing that he was unlearned and unintelligent even in matters of Greek education, of which he was very confident. – Cf. Gleede, Platon und Aristoteles in der Kosmologie des Proklos, 3 – 9.

9 On the creationist arguments of the three Gazan philosophers, see M.W. Champion, Explaining the Cosmos: Creation and cultural interaction in late-antique Gaza. Oxford/New York 2014, esp. 105 – 186 and R. Sorabji, Waiting for Philoponus, in A. Marmodoro / B.D. Prince (eds.), Causation and creation in late antiquity. Cambridge 2015, 71 – 93.

10 See Damascius: The Philosophical History, ed./transl. P. Athanassiadi. Athens 1999, 280 – 281 (#118B): Ammonius, who was sordidly greedy and saw everything in terms of profit of any kind, came to an agreement with the then overseer of the prevailing doctrine. – Ὁ δὲ Ἀμμώνιος αἰσχροκερδὴς ὢν καὶ πάντα ὁρῶν εἰς χρηματισμὸν ὁντιναοῦν, ὁμολογίας τίθεται πρὸς τὸν ἐπισκοποῦντα τηνικαῦτα τὴν κρατοῦσαν δόξαν. For the significance of this agreement, see E.J. Watts, City and school in late antique Athens and Alexandria. *The Transformation of the Classical Heritage*, 41. Berkeley / Los Angeles / London 2006, 222 – 231.

11 For a prominent early sixth-century apocalyptic prophecy, see: The Oracle of Baalbek. The Tiburtine Sibyl in Greek dress, ed./transl. P.J. Alexander. Washington, DC 1967. Further evidence for eschatological, if not apocalyptic speculations among Christians provides the well-known testimony by Simplikios, see: Simplicii in Aristotelis Physicorum libros, Vol. 2, ed. Diels (as footnote 7 above) 1335.5 – 8: ὁ τοίνυν οὐρανὸς πρὸ ἑξακισχιλίων καὶ πρὸς ἐνιαυτῶν, ὡς οὗτος οἴεται, γεγονὼς καὶ ἐπ' ἐσχάτοις ὢν ἤδη τῶν ἡμερῶν, ὡς καὶ τοῦτο πάντως αὐτὸν ἀρέσκει, πῶς οὐδὲν παρακμαστικὸν καὶ πρὸς φθορὰν ὁδεῦον ἡμῖν ἐνεδείξατο; for an English translation, see Simplicius, On Aristotle, Physics 8.6 – 10, transl. R. McKirahan. *Ancient Commentators on Aristotle*. London 2001, 121: That man [i.e., Philoponos] thinks that the heaven came to be over six thousand years ago and he is certainly pleased to suppose that it is now in its last days. How is it, then, that it has given us no indication that it is past its prime and heading towards its end?

implications of this exegetical dispute a new moral significance and an existential immediacy. Following the sixth century, discussions on the eternity of the world became rare;[12] yet, they resurfaced in the eleventh century in the works of Michael Psellos, Symeon Seth and especially John Italos.

This paper reconstructs Italos' position on the eternity of the world, which he discussed in an exhortation to an unspecified Byzantine emperor. In the following, we briefly present Italos' character, his literary work and his controversial condemnation in order to contextualize his contribution to the eternalist/creationist debate. We then provide a critical edition of the Greek text of Italos' treatise on the eternity of the world (Quaestio 71), provided with an English translation and followed by a commentary that develops Italos' main arguments and identifies some of his sources. Finally, we draw some conclusions about the significance and new quality of Italos' treatment of the question. We believe that the philological approach adopted here is a good means to discard long-standing preconceptions about Byzantine intellectual life and to shed a new light on the Christian Platonism of the eleventh century.

I.2 The life and work of John Italos

John Italos, whose name refers to his 'Italian' provenance, was born c. 1030 in southern Italy. He moved to Constantinople around 1050, where he became a student of Michael Psellos. He excelled in dialectic reasoning, became a teacher himself, and eventually followed Psellos as the head of the imperially sponsored school of philosophy.[13] His teachings and his argumentative style aroused suspicion that led to his repeated investigation in 1076/77 and in 1082, when local synods scrutinized his orthodoxy. Ultimately, he was condemned for heterodoxy and was forced to resign from his teaching position and to retire to a monastery.[14]

12 A notable exception is Maximos the Confessor, who argued against the eternity of the world in his *Ambigua to John*, see T. Shchukin, Matter as a universal: John Philoponus and Maximus the Confessor on the eternity of the world. *Scrinium* 13 (2017) 361 – 382. For an overview of the relatively scarce philosophical literature between the seventh and eleventh centuries, see K. Ierodiakonou / G. Zografidis, Early Byzantine philosophy, in L. P. Gerson (ed.), The Cambridge History of Philosophy in Late Antiquity, Vol. 2. Cambridge 2010, 843 – 868.

13 On the Constantinopolitan school of philosophy, see F. Fuchs, Die Höheren Schulen von Konstantinopel im Mittelalter. *BA*, 8. Leipzig 1926, repr. Amstderdam 1964, 28 – 35 and P. Lemerle, Cinque études sur le XIe siècle. Paris 1977, 195 – 248.

14 See J. Gouillard, Le procès officiel de Jean l'Italien: Les actes et leurs sous-entendus. *TM* 9 (1985) 133 – 174, at 159.429 – 430. On Italos' life, see further A. Rigo, Giovanni Italo. *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, Vol. 56. Rome 2001, 62 – 67.

Yet, an early twelfth-century reference suggests that Italos had an ecclesiastic career after his condemnation and his withdrawal of his earlier teachings. Niketas Seides says in a treatise written against Eustratios of Nikaia that Eustratios' teacher was a certain "John, formerly *chartophylax* of the great city of Antioch."[15] This reference is unambiguous, given that Eustratios was John Italos' student.[16] Paul Magdalino has argued that, had Italos fulfilled the ecclesiastical office of *chartophylax* prior to his trial in 1082, then the trial record would have made mention of it. Moreover, *chartophylax* was an ecclesiastic position, which Italos could have fulfilled only after his monastic vow in 1082, plausibly in the years 1096 – 8, when Alexios expected the liberation of Antioch by the crusaders and needed a Latin-speaking cleric to support the mission of John Oxeites, recently elected as patriarch-in-exile of Antioch.[17]

Arguably, only few of his works have survived his excommunication. However, as we do not possess a catalogue of his writings, we can only speculate about his literary productivity. The works that have come down to us display a renewed interest in the philosophical debate over an eternal world in Constantinopolitan higher education. Even though Italos' arguments can be shown to derive from late antique sources, his contribution does not lack in originality.

With regard to his sources, Italos was a child of his age. Most notably, the eleventh/twelfth centuries saw a revival of interest in Proklos, who was studied and commented on by the Byzantine polymath, Michael Psellos, by John Italos himself, as well as by Ioane Petritsi who, probably, was the latter's disciple.[18]

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15 Νικήτα Σεΐδου Λόγος κατὰ Εὐστρατίου Νικαίας, ed. Th.N. Zeses. *Ἐπιστημονικὴ Ἐπετηρὶς Θεολογικῆς Σχολῆς*, 19, supplement. Thessaloniki 1976, 35–82, at 65. The respective passage has been identified and translated by P. Magdalino, Prosopography and Byzantine Identity, in A. Cameron (ed.), Fifty Years of Prosopography: The Later Roman Empire, Byzantium and Beyond. *Proceedings of the British Academy*, 118. Oxford 2003, 41 – 56, at 50.

16 Gouillard, Le procès officiel (as footnote 14 above) 159.434.

17 Magdalino, Prosopography and Byzantine Identity (as footnote 15 above) 51.

18 Until recently, the importance of Ioane Petritsi, who was writing in Georgian but had studied in Constantinople, had been neglected. He was made well-known to the Western public by Levan Gigineishvili and Lela Alexidze. See L. Gigineishvili, The Platonic theology of Ioane Petritsi, introd. I. Perczel. Piscataway, NJ 2007 and Ioane Petrizi, Kommentar zur Elementatio theologica des Proklos. Übersetzung aus dem Altgeorgischen, Anmerkungen, Indices und Einleitung von L. Alexidze / L. Bergemann. *Bochumer Studien zur Philosophie*, 47. Amsterdam/Philadelphia 2009. For the hypothesis that Petritsi was Italos' pupil, see Ketschakmadze's introduction to her edition of Italos: N. Ketschakmadze, Ioannis Itali Opera. Tbilisi 1966, xix. Yet, recently this traditional opinion was challenged by Edisher Chelidze (see E. Chelidze, On the life and literary activity of Ioane Petritsi, part I. *Religia* 3 – 5 [1994] 113 – 126 and idem, On the life and literary activity of Ioane Petritsi, part II. *Religia* 1 – 3 [1995] 76 – 89, both in Georgian), who, mainly on linguistic grounds, claims that Petritsi wrote his works at the end of

Proklos' influence can be witnessed not only in philosophical works but also in historiography, most notably in the *Alexiad*, where John Italos is credited with having made much use of Proklos.[19]

The *Alexiad* presents a prominent account of Italos. Among others, it is stated that Italos was carried away by his excessive use of dialectic, while lacking the rhetorical skills that were expected from a Byzantine gentleman. Furthermore, it is said that he had grown up without a mother, was lacking an appealing corporeal constitution and was speaking an unpolished Greek; moreover, he was irascible, conceited and, above all, heretical.[20] It has been convincingly argued that this portrayal is a rhetorical construction that aims at presenting an absolute contrast to Emperor Alexios, who is characterized as the perfect realization of the Byzantine ideal type, showing forth eloquence, restrained behavior as well as self-control, physical beauty, orthodoxy and piety.[21] It is hard to tell how much literary invention lies behind the portrayal of Italos but it is certain that his character was considered with great antipathy at the Komnenian court.

Opposition to Italos led Emperor Alexios to convene a tribunal in March 1082, which condemned a series of philosophical viewpoints that were attributed to Italos.[22] In all likelihood, this was a show trial, less motivated by doctrinal issues than by personal antipathy toward Italos and by political circumstances.

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the twelfth or beginning of the thirteenth century. If this were so, he could not be a disciple of Italos. Chelidze's hypothesis is now accepted by some Georgian scholars, such as Damana Melikishvili (see D. Melikishvili, On the question of the unity and individuality of the linguistic style of the Gelati literary school. *Transactions of the Gelati Academy of Sciences* 2 (1996) 65 – 74, in Georgian) and, with some reservation, Lela Alexidze (see L. Alexidze, Ioane Petritsi, in S. Gersh (ed.), Interpreting Proclus from Antiquity to the Renaissance. Cambridge 2014, 229 – 244, esp. 242). For a detailed discussion of both hypotheses, see Gigineishvili, Theology (as above) 17 – 19. We believe that only a thorough comparative inquiry into Italos' and Petritsi's thought could resolve this dispute.

19 Annae Comnenae Alexias, Vol. 1, eds. D. R. Reinsch / A. Kambylis. *CFHB*, 40/1. Berlin 2001, 165.40 (Alexias V.9.1).

20 Ibid., 161 – 167 (Alexias V.8 – 9). For a more complete synopsis of Anna Komnene's characterization of Italos, see D. Smythe, Alexios I and the heretics: the account of Anna Komnene's Alexiad, in M. Mullett/D. Smythe (eds.), Alexios I Komnenos. I: Papers. *Belfast Byzantine Texts and Translations*, 4.1. Belfast 1996, 232 – 259, at 244 – 249.

21 See G. Arabatzis, Blâme du philosophe. Éloge de la vraie philosophie et figures rhétoriques: Le récit d'Anne Comnène sur Jean Italus revisité. *BZ* 95 (2002) 403 – 415, esp. 409 – 412.

22 Alexios Komnenos presided over a tribunal that was made up of ecclesiastical and imperial officials, who seem to have been hand-picked by Alexios himself. See further L. Clucas, The trial of John Italos and the crisis of intellectual values in Byzantium in the eleventh century. *MBM*, 26. Munich 1981, 21 – 25. For a brief but useful overview of the trial, see J. Irmscher, Die Verurteilung des Johannes Italos. *Jahrbuch für Geschichte des Feudalismus* 6 (1982) 117 – 122, at 119 – 121.

Italos had been politically allied to the previous dynasty of the Doukas family; Emperor Michael VII (r. 1071–1078) had been his student and patron. Moreover, Italos was a foreigner, whose loyalty could be questioned.[23] This made him to be considered a dangerous subject by Alexios I who, after the Doukids and the usurper Nikephoros III Botaneiates (r. 1078–1081), inaugurated the rule of the new Komnenian dynasty in 1081.[24] That being said, it awaits further study to understand the interests of the monastic and/or ecclesiastical circles that supported the imperially orchestrated trial and condemnation.

Whatever the circumstances of the trial might have been and whatever errors the anathemas might attribute to Italos, our best evidence for his actual teachings are the works that have survived. We have a number of purely logical commentaries on Aristotle[25] and a collection of 93 aporetic questions, in which Italos discusses various metaphysical and logical issues, some of which he explicitly dedicates to Emperor Michael VII Doukas.[26] This collection of treatises is enti-

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23 A point that has also been made by R. Browning, Church, state, and learning in twelfth century Byzantium. London 1981, 14 (repr. in Idem, History, Language and Literacy in the Byzantine World. Northampton 1989, VI). See also Alexias V.8.5, eds. Reinsch/Kambylis (as footnote 19 above) 163.

24 See P. Joannou, Christliche Metaphysik in Byzanz I. Die Illuminationslehre des Michael Psellos und Joannes Italos. Ettal 1956, 23–29, cf. Clucas, Trial (as footnote 22 above) 91–95. See also J. L. Macdonald, The condemnation of John Italos. Unpublished MA thesis, St. Vladimir's Orthodox Theological Seminary 1982, 24, who points out – much in line with Joannou's argumentation – that Italos might have been suspected of encouraging a revolt by the Doukas family against Emperor Alexios. See also P. Gounaridis, Le procès de Jean dit Italos révisé. *Historein* 6 (2006) 35–47, who – with different arguments – supports the assumption that Italos' condemnation was politically motivated.

25 Namely, *De dialectica, De syllogismis, De rhetorica, Commentarius in Aristotelis Topica*. For the edition of these works, see Ketschakmadze, Itali Opera (as footnote 18 above) 1–48. The latter commentary has been edited anew by S. Kotzabassi, Byzantinische Kommentatoren der aristotelischen Topik: Johannes Italos & Leon Magentinos. *Hetaireia Byzantinon Ereunon*, 17. Thessaloniki 1999, 63–108.

26 Quaestio 50 of Italos' *Quaestiones quodlibetales* holds a dedication to the emperor in its title (Ioannes Italos Quaestiones quodlibetales, ed. P. Joannou. Ettal 1956, 63.12–14): Πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα κῦρ Μιχαήλ, εἰ αἱ ψυχαὶ ζητήσαντα, ὡς λέγουσί τινες, ἀνάβασιν δέχονται ἀπολυθεῖσαι τοῦ σώματος, ἐν ᾧ δέδεικται καὶ ὅτι ἀθάνατος. – To the Emperor Michael, who has asked, whether the souls, as some say, ascend after being released from the body, in which [response] it is also demonstrated that the soul is immortal. – Cf. Michaelis Pselli Chronographia, ed./transl. D. R. Reinsch. *Millennium-Studien*, 51. Berlin 2014, 286 (= Book VII.168 (c4).6–7), where Psellos affirms the emperor's love for philosophy: πρὸ δὲ τούτων ἁπάντων, ὁ πρὸς φιλοσοφίαν ἔρως· τὸ τῆς ἀναγωγῆς ὕψος· ἡ τῆς ἀλληγορίας μεταβολή. English translation in: Fourteen Byzantine rulers: the Chronographia of Michael Psellus, transl. E. R. A. Sewter. Harmonds-

tled: Ἀπορίαι καὶ Λύσεις or *Quaestiones quodlibetales*.[27] It presents the best evidence of Italos' teachings, whose factual correspondence with his anathematization is far from being evident.[28]

It has been repeatedly pointed out that the altogether eleven condemnations are repetitive and often contradictory.[29] For instance, the third and ninth anathema attribute to Italos the mutually exclusive views of transmigration of souls, annihilation of souls after death and resurrection in different bodies, while the eighth and tenth anathema reiterate the condemnation of denying the *creatio ex nihilo*. Likewise, four out of the eleven condemnations address eschatological issues: the resurrection (third and ninth anathema), the notion of an eternal world (fourth anathema), the belief in universal salvation (apokatastasis) (tenth anathema). That is, eschatological concerns stand at the center of the anathemas against Italos. Eschatology also forms the outspoken focus of treatise 71 of Italos' *Quaestiones*. We will return to this problematic relationship between the condemnations and Italos' treatise.

II. Text and translation of John Italos' *Quaestiones quodlibetales*, treatise 71

The first scholar to work on a critical edition of the *Quaestiones quodlibetales* was Grigol Tsereteli (1870 – 1938), but only a part of his work was published in 1924 and 1926.[30] Much of his work remained in manuscript and is kept at the *Georgian National Centre of Manuscripts* in Tbilisi (archival funds no. 188 – 219). Tsereteli first worked with later manuscripts, i.e., Vindobonensis phil.

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worth 1966, 369: but, above all else, he cultivated a love of philosophy, of books that enrich the spiritual life, of allegory and its interpretation.

27 This collection has to be handled with care, as not all *Quaestiones* represent Italos' actual works. See J. Gouillard, La religion des philosophes. *TM* 6 (1976) 305 – 324, at 310.

28 The condemnations were incorporated into the *Synodikon of Orthodoxy* following Italos' trial in 1082. For the critical edition with French translation and extensive commentary, see J. Gouillard, Le Synodikon de l'orthodoxie, édition et commentaire. *TM* 2 (1967) 1 – 316, at 57.184 – 61.246.

29 See Gouillard, Le Synodikon (as footnote 28 above) 192 – 196 and Clucas, Trial (as footnote 22 above) 28, 53. While it is plausible, as Rigo, Giovanni Italo (as footnote 14 above) 65 suggests, that these charges represent heresiological *topoi*, it seems more likely that the accusations represent not only *topoi* but also the actual thoughts and topics of discussion of Italos' circle, as suggested by J.M. Hussey, Church and learning in the Byzantine empire, 867 – 1185. Oxford/London 1937, 93.

30 G. Tsereteli, Ioannis Itali opuscula selecta, 2 vols. Tbilisi 1924 – 1926.

gr. 203, saec. XV and Monacensis gr. 99, saec. XVI but, eventually, found also Marcianus gr. Z. 265, saec. XIII and chose it as the basis for his partial edition of the *Quaestiones*, which also contains Italos' Quaestio 71.[31] Tsereteli introduced a number of emendations to the text wherever he found it incomprehensible. His edition and unpublished notes formed the basis of the *editio princeps* of Italos' *Quaestiones* by Perikles Joannou and of the edition of all of Italos' remaining œuvre by Natela Ketschakmadze.[32] Joannou diverged from Tsereteli's work at several points and presented an edition with numerous inaccuracies.[33] Ketschakmadze's text is a revised version of that of Joannou and holds a richer *apparatus fontium* and *apparatus criticus* that includes all the variant readings and conjectures of Tsereteli. Ketschakmadze, who did a tremendous philological work in collating Tsereteli's manuscript with Joannou's edition, did not engage in establishing a radically new text as she thought that the variants indicated are mostly of linguistic and palaeographical significance, leaving the judgment whether they also affect the evaluation on Italos' thought to later scholars.[34] Also, apparently, neither Joannou, nor Ketschakmadze have carried out an independent collation of the extent manuscripts, but relied heavily on Tsereteli's work. The original edition of Tsereteli contains less mistakes than the subsequent editions that build upon his work. That being said, the text established by Tsereteli is not without flaws itself, including erroneous punctuation marks, which we rectified wherever needed. As the Tsereteli/Joannou/Ketschakmadze edition contains incomprehensible parts that inhibit a proper reconstruction of Italos' philosophical arguments a new edition is required.

Our new critical edition of Quaestio 71 is based on all eight manuscripts that are known to contain the text. We largely concur with Joannou's partial *stemma codicum* that establishes as the three main witnesses of Italos' *Quaestiones* the Marcianus gr. Z. 265 (M), the Vaticanus gr. 316 (B) and the Vindobonensis phil.

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31 G. Tsereteli, Ioannis Itali opuscula selecta, Vol. 2. Tbilisi 1926, 47 – 55. Previously, Fyodor Uspensky had transcribed a few sentences of Quaestio 71 from Vindob. phil. gr. 203, ff. 115v–116v (F. Uspensky, Синодикъ въ Недѣлю Православія. Сводный текстъ съ приложеніями. Odessa 1893, 65 – 66) while P.V. Bezobrazov, Book review of F. I. Uspensky, Очерки по исторіи византійской образованности, Saint Petersburg 1892, and Синодикъ въ Недѣлю Православія, Odessa 1893. *VV* 3 (1896) 125 – 150, at 128 – 131 transcribed some passages based on Vaticanus gr. 1457 and gave a brief overview of some arguments of Quaestio 71.

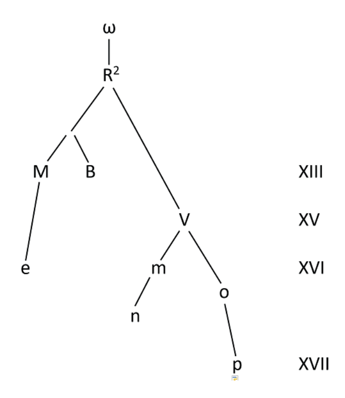
32 Joannou, Quaestiones quodlibetales (as footnote 26 above); Ketschakmadze, Itali Opera (as footnote 17 above).

33 Already Gouillard, La religion des philosophes (as footnote 27 above) 310 voiced criticism on Joannou's edition.

34 For a brief account of previous scholarship, see Ketschakmadze's introduction to her edition: Ketschakmadze, Itali Opera (as footnote 18 above) xix–xxi (in Russian).

gr. 203 (V). M and B form together with Escorialensis X-I-11 (e) one recension,[35] while a second recension follows the hyparchetype of V.[36] This bifurcation is apparent from a number of common textual features: for instance, MBe read ὑποπιπτούσῃ while Vmnop read ὑποπιπτούσης (l. 62). Joannou established that MBV have a common source, which he named R^2. It is apparent that R^2 used an idiosyncratic abbreviation for the suffix 'οῦσαν', which led all subsequent manuscripts to read only 'ου' (e. g., ἀποτέμνου instead of ἀποτέμνουσαν, l. 127). Moreover, R^2 used an ambiguous abbreviation for παρά (adopted in MBVm), which the copyists of enop mistook for περί (l. 59).

Vindobonensis phil. gr. 203 (V) presents a second recension. Monacensis gr. 99 (m) is a copy of V,[37] whereby Matritensis gr. 4754 (n) is an apographon of m, as clearly indicated by the lacuna at (l. 39–40). Finally, Parisinus gr. 2002 (p) depends on Vaticanus gr. 1457 (o), which, in turn, is dependent on V. The manuscript evidence for Quaestio 71 establishes the following *stemma codicum:*



We have noted in the *apparatus* the most significant misreadings of the previous editors in order to clarify where our edition departs from the previous ones. Furthermore, we chose to present an almost exhaustive *apparatus criticus* that notes

35 Joannou, Quaestiones quodlibetales (as footnote 26 above) x. Based solely on our reading of Quaestio 71 we cannot support Joannou's assumption that e also depends on B.

36 Thus, we cannot confirm S. Kotzabassi's observation that both B and V are dependent on M, see S. Kotzabassi, Kommentatoren (as footnote 25 above) 41–46. Her observations, however, are based on the manuscript tradition of Italos' *Commentarius in Aristotelis Topica* and not of the *Quaestiones quodlibetales*.

37 As already noticed by Tsereteli, Itali opuscula selecta,1 (as footnote 30 above) v, viii.

even simple orthographical mistakes such as iotacisms. We hope that these notes will be useful for any future edition of Italos' entire œuvre.[38] That said, the *apparatus* does ignore the nu-ephelkystikon (which is particularly characteristic of e) and the idiosyncrasy of p that persistently inserts definite articles into the text.

Sigla

Manuscripts

M Venezia, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, cod. gr. Z. 265 (coll. 516), fols. 99r–103v, saec. XIII^{2}

B Città del Vaticano, Bibliotheca Apostolica Vaticana, cod. Vat. gr. 316, fols. 71r–73v, saec. XIII

V Wien, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, cod. phil. gr. 203, fols. 115r–120v, saec. XV^{1}

e El Escorial, Real Biblioteca del Monasterio de San Lorenzo de El Escorial, cod. gr. X-I-11, fols. 169r–172v, saec. XVI^{MED}

m München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, cod. gr. 99, fols. 363r–366v, c. ann. 1550

n Madrid, Biblioteca nacional de España, cod. 4754, fols. 128r–131v, c. ann. 1550

o Città del Vaticano, Bibliotheca Apostolica Vaticana, cod. Vat. gr. 1457, fols. 143r–148v, saec. XVI^{MED}

p Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, cod. gr. 2002, fols. 285v–297v, ann. 1620

Editions

Ts G. Tsereteli, Ioannis Itali opuscula selecta, Vol. 2. Tbilisi 1926, 47–55

Jo P. Joannou, Ioannes Italos Quaestiones quodlibetales. Ettal 1956, 120–125

Ket N. Ketschakmadze, Ioannis Itali Opera. Tbilisi 1966, 192–197

38 A complete edition of Italos' œuvre is currently being prepared by Sergei Mariev at the University of Munich (written communication of Sergei Mariev to A. K., dated 29/03/2015).

Abbreviations used for Italos' direct and indirect sources

Aristoteles, De caelo
Aristotelis De Caelo libri quattuor, ed. D.J. ALLAN. Oxford 1936, repr. 1955
Aristoteles, Ethica Nicomachea
Aristotelis Ethica Nicomachea, ed. I. BYWATER. *Scriptorum Classicorum Bibliotheca Oxoniensis*. Oxford 1894, repr. 1962
Aristoteles, Metaphysica
Aristotle's Metaphysics, ed. W.D. ROSS, 2 vols. Oxford 1924, repr. 1997
Aristoteles, Physica
Aristotelis Physica, ed. W. D. ROSS. Oxford 1950
Gregorius Nazianzenus, Oratio 29
Grégoire de Nazianze: Discours 27–31 (Discours Théologiques), ed./transl. P. GALLAY/M. JOURJON. *SC*, 250. Paris 1978, 176–225
Gregorius Nazianzenus, Oratio 39
Grégoire de Nazianze: Discours 38–41, ed. C. MORESCHINI/transl. P. GALLAY. *SC*, 358. Paris 1990, 150–197
Ilias
The Iliad of Homer, transl. R. LATTIMORE. Chicago 1951
Odysseia
The Odyssey of Homer, transl. R. LATTIMORE. New York 1975
(Ps)Iamblichus, Theologoumena arithmeticae
Iamblichi theologoumena arithmeticae, ed. V. DE FALCO. *Bibliotheca Scriptorum Graecorum et Romanorum Teubneriana*, 1446. Leipzig 1922
Ioannes Damascenus, Expositio fidei
Die Schriften des Johannes von Damaskos, Vol. 2, ed. B. KOTTER. *PTS*, 12. Berlin 1973
Italus, Quaestio
P. JOANNOU, Ioannes Italos Quaestiones quodlibetales. Ettal 1956
Ioannes Lydus, Liber de mensibus
Ioannis Laurentii Lydi Liber de Mensibus, ed. R. WÜNSCH. *Bibliotheca Scriptorum Graecorum et Romanorum Teubneriana*, 1523. Leipzig 1898, repr. Stuttgart 1967
Maximus Confessor, Ambigua ad Thomam
Maximos the Confessor: On Difficulties in the Church Fathers: The Ambigua, Vol. 1, ed./transl. N. CONSTAS. *Dumbarton Oaks Medieval Library*, 28. Cambridge, Mass. 2014, 1–59
Nemesius, De natura hominis
Nemesii Emeseni De Natura Hominis, ed. M. MORANI. *Bibliotheca Scriptorum Graecorum et Romanorum Teubneriana*. Leipzig 1987

Oracula Chaldaica
Oracles Chaldaïques avec un choix de commentaires anciens, ed./transl. É. Des Places. Paris 1996³
Origenes, Selecta in Psalmos
Ex Origenis Selecta in Psalmos, ed. J.-P. Migne, *PG* 12, 1053 – 1685
Philo, De aeternitate mundi
Philo in ten volumes, Vol. 9, transl. F. H. Colson. *Loeb Classical Library*, 363. Cambridge, Mass. 1941, 184 – 291
Philoponus, Contra Proclum
Ioannes Philoponus De aeternitate mundi contra Proclum, ed. H. Rabe. *Bibliotheca Scriptorum Graecorum et Romanorum Teubneriana*, 1591. Leipzig 1899
Philoponus, In Aristotelis De anima
Ioannis Philoponi In Aristotelis De anima libros commentaria, ed. M. Hayduck. *Commentaria in Aristotelem Graeca*, 15. Berlin 1897
Philoponus, In Aristotelis Physicorum libros
Ioannis Philoponi In Aristotelis Physicorum libros quinque posteriores commentaria, 2 vols., ed. H. Vitelli. *Commentaria in Aristotelem Graeca*, 16 – 17. Berlin 1887 – 88
Plato, Phaedrus
Plato in twelve volumes, Vol. 1: Euthyphro, Apology, Crito, Phaedo, Phaedrus, transl. H.N. Fowler. *Loeb Classical Library*, 36. Cambridge, Mass. 1914, repr. 1960, 412 – 579
Plato, Res Publica
Plato in twelve volumes, Vol. 5: The Republic. Vol. 1, Books 1 – 5, transl. P. Shorey. *Loeb Classical Library*, 237. Cambridge, Mass. 1930, repr. 1937
Plato, Timaeus
Plato in twelve volumes, Vol. 9: Timaeus, Critias, Cleitophon, Menexenus, Epistles, transl. R.G. Bury. *Loeb Classical Library*, 234. Cambridge, Mass. 1929, repr. 1989, 16 – 253
Plotinus
Plotini Opera, 3 vols, eds. P. Henry / H.-R. Schwyzer. *Museum Lessianum, Series philosophica*, 33 – 35. Paris/Bruxelles/Leiden 1951 – 1973
Porphyrius, Contra Christianos
Porphyrius, ‘Gegen die Christen’, 15 Bücher: Zeugnisse, Fragmente und Referate, ed. A. von Harnack. *Abhandlungen der königlich preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften 1916, phil.-hist. Klasse*, 1. Berlin 1916

Porphyrius, Isagoge
Porphyrii Isagoge et In Aristotelis Categorias Commentarium, ed. A. Busse, *Commentaria in Aristotelem Graeca*, 4/1. Berlin 1887
Proclus, Elementatio theologica
Proclus: The Elements of Theology, ed. E.R. Dodds. Oxford 1963[2]
Proclus, In Rem Publicam
Procli Diadochi In Platonis Rem Publicam Commentarii, Vol. 1, ed. W. Kroll. *Bibliotheca Scriptorum Graecorum et Romanorum Teubneriana*, 1726. Leipzig 1899
Proclus, In Timaeum
Procli Diadochi In Platonis Timaeum Commentaria, 3 vols., ed. E. Diehl. *Bibliotheca Scriptorum Graecorum et Romanorum Teubneriana*, 1728–1730. Leipzig 1903–1906
Psellus, Opuscula II
Michaelis Pselli Philosophica Minora. Vol. 2. Opuscula Psychologica, Theologica, Daemonologica, ed. D.J. O'Meara. *Bibliotheca Scriptorum Graecorum et Romanorum Teubneriana*. Leipzig 1989
Psellus, Chronographia
Michaelis Pselli Chronographia, ed./transl. D.R. Reinsch. *Millennium-Studien*, 51. Berlin 2014
Ps-Aristoteles, De mundo
Aristotelis qui fertur libellus De Mundo, ed. W.L. Lorimer. Paris 1933
Ps-Dionysius, Epistulae
Corpus Dionysiacum. Vol. 2: De Coelesti Hierarchia, de Ecclesiastica Hierarchia, de Mystica Theologia, Epistulae, ed. G. Heil/A.M. Ritter. *PTS*, 67. Berlin 2012[2], 151–210
Ps-Dionysius, De divinis nominibus
Corpus Dionysiacum. Vol. 1: De divinis nominibus, ed. B.R. Suchla. *PTS*, 33. Berlin 1990
Ps-Macarius, Homiliae spirituales
Die 50 geistlichen Homilien des Makarios, ed. H. Dörries/E. Klostermann/M. Kroeger. *PTS*, 4. Berlin 1964.
Zacharias Scholasticus, Ammonius
Zacaria Scolastico: Ammonio. Introduzione, testo critico, traduzione, commentario, ed. M. Colonna. Naples 1973

οα΄. Περὶ τοῦ ὅτι ὁ κόσμος φθαρτός, καὶ ὅτι ἔσται ἀνάστασις

Βασιλεῦσι μέγα καὶ λίαν ὡς οἶμαι ὠφέλιμον οὐ μόνον στρατηγεῖν καὶ ὁπλιτεύειν
εἰδόσι συναναστρέφεσθαι καὶ τούτοις συνεξετάζειν τοὺς ἀρίστους, καὶ ὡς οὗτος
μὲν λοχαγός, οὗτος δὲ καὶ πρωτοστάτης ἐπιτήδειος, καὶ σφενδονᾶν μὲν ἐκεῖνος,
τοξεύειν δὲ οὗτος ἀμείνων, ἀλλὰ καὶ λόγοις ἐνδιαιτᾶσθαι, καὶ μούσαις καὶ ἠθικαῖς
5 ἐπισκέψεσι καθ' ἑκάστην προσομιλεῖν, καὶ ἀνιχνεύειν ἐπιμελῶς τί μὲν δικαιο-
σύνη, τί δὲ φρόνησις καὶ τίνες αἱ ταύταις ἀνθεπόμεναι, καὶ ὡς τούτων αἳ μὲν ἀτε-
λεῖς, αἳ δὲ καὶ τελειόταται τὴν φύσιν πεφύκασιν· ἐξ ὧν καὶ τελείοις ἡμῖν καὶ ἀτε-
λέσιν εἶναι συμβέβηκε καὶ δι' ἃς μᾶλλον ἡμᾶς ὑποληπτέον ἤ περ ἐκείνας δι'
ἕτερον γεγονέναι. οὐ γὰρ ἵν' ὦμεν ἁπλῶς, ἀλλ' ἵνα καλοὶ καὶ ἀγαθοὶ τῷ ἀρετὰς
10 ἔχειν πεφύκαμεν· ὧν αἳ μὲν λόγῳ, αἳ δὲ καὶ τῷ ἐθίζεσθαι ἡμῖν παραγίνονται, ἡδο-
νῆς τε καὶ λύπης ἐπίσης τὴν ψυχὴν χωρίζουσαι, ὧν ἔργα τὰ πολεμοῦντα πάθη,
καὶ δι' ἃ τῆς ἡμῶν τελειότητος διεστήκαμεν. διὰ μὲν γὰρ τὴν ἡδονὴν τῶν
κακῶν ἐργάται γινόμεθα, διὰ δὲ τὴν λύπην τὰ κάλλιστα τῶν ἔργων ἐκκλίνομεν.
καὶ τοῦτό ἐστι ὡς οἶμαι τὸ τοῖς παλαιοῖς συμβολικῶς εἰρημένον, ὡς "ἐν Διὸς
15 οὔδει δύο πίθοι κατακείαται", ὅθεν μοιχεῖαι, ἀλληλοφονίαι, καὶ τὸ πάντων ἀνο-
σιώτατον, εἰδωλολατρίαι· οὗ τί ἂν ἄλλο γένοιτο ζῴῳ λογικῷ χαλεπώτερον, νεκ-
ρώσαντι τὴν ψυχήν, τὴν φύσιν ἀθετήσαντι καὶ τελευταῖον τῆς μακαρίας ζωῆς
ἑαυτὸ ἀποστήσαντι;

Ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ περὶ ἀρετῆς προὐθέμην εἰπεῖν, ταύτης δὲ κεφάλαιον ἀκριβὲς
20 εἶναι τὸ εὐσεβεῖν ἥγημαι, τούτου δὲ τὸ ἀναστάντας τῶν ἔργων ἀμοιβὰς ἀπολή-
ψεσθαι, λεκτέον ἄρα περὶ ἀναστάσεως πρότερον, καὶ πειρατέον ὡς δυνατὸν

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2 [2]καὶ – 4 ἀμείνων cf. Psellus, Chronographia, tom.1, 20 (liber I,32.7 – 14) | **14** –ἐν – 15 κατακείαται Ilias 24:527. Cf. Plato, Res Publica 379d (liber II,18) et Proclus, In Rem Publicam, 96 – 100 | **19** κεφάλαιον – 20 εὐσεβεῖν Nemesius, De natura hominis, 2.21 – 23 (cap. 1) et Ioannes Damascenus, Expositio fidei, 79.82 – 85 (cap. 26 [= liber II, cap.12])

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2 τούτοις] τούτους **Vmnop** | **3** πρωτοστάτης] προτοστάτης **Vmnop** ἐκεῖνος] ἐκείνως **MBe**, *Jo*, *Ket* | **4** οὗτος ἀμείνων coniecit *Ts*; οὗτος ἄμεινον **B**; οὕτως ἄμεινον **ceteri codd.**, *Jo*, *Ket* | **5** προσομιλεῖν]προσομολεῖν **B** | **6** ταύταις] αὐταῖς **p** τούτων] τούων e | **8** μᾶλλον] μάλλλον **e** ὑποληπτέον] ὑπολειπτέον **e** | **9** post γεγονέναι interductum alteravimus καλοὶ **B** ante correctionem non legi potest; καλλοί **e** | **10** πεφύκαμεν] πεφύκασιν **m** ante correctionem παραγίνονται] περιγίνονται **MB**; περὶ γίνονται **e** | **12** δι' ἅ **codd.** et *Jo*; δι' ἅς coniecit *Ts*, quod accepit *Ket* | **13** ἐκκλίνομεν] ἐκλίνομεν **mnop** | **14** συμβολικῶς] συμβεβηκῶς **e** | **15** ἀλληλοφονίαι] ἀλληλοφωνίαι **B** | **17** ἀθετήσαντι] ἀθετήσαντα **B**; -τίσαντι **op**; -τήσαντα et -τήσαντι **m** τελευταῖον] τελευταῖον et -ταίῳ **M**

τοῖς καλῶς τε καὶ εὐγνωμόνως ἀκούουσιν ἐπιδεικνύναι ὡς ἀναστῆναι πάντας ἀναγκαῖον, οἷα ἡμῖν καὶ τῇ τῶν πραγμάτων φύσει ἑπόμενον. πρὸς οὖν τοῦτο τό τε τὸν κόσμον λέγειν ἀΐδιον καὶ τὰ ἡμέτερα κοινὰ καὶ ἄλλοις ὑπολαμβάνειν
25 γενέσθαι σώματα ἐμποδὼν καθέστηκε· τοῦ γὰρ παντὸς ἀϊδίου τυγχάνοντος καὶ τῶν ἡμετέρων ἐν γενέσει σωμάτων ἀεὶ πεφυκότων, ἀπίθανον ἂν δόξειε τὸ περὶ ἀναστάσεως θρυλλούμενον. δεικτέον οὖν πρότερον μὴ ἀΐδιον εἶναι τόνδε τὸν κόσμον, εἶτα καὶ περὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἐν καιρῷ διαλεκτέον.

Πλάτων τοίνυν ἐν φιλοσοφίᾳ μέγιστος παρ’ Ἕλλησι τελῶν – δεῖ γὰρ ἀπὸ
30 Πλάτωνος ἄρχεσθαι – γένεσιν εὐθὺς εἶναι τοῦ κόσμου παραδίδωσιν, εἴ γε καὶ ψυχῆς πρὸ αὐτοῦ, κἂν οἱ ἀπὸ Πλάτωνος ἀπαρέσκονται, τοῖς ἐκ τοῦ Περιπάτου δόγμασι παρασυρόμενοι. καὶ τί θαυμαστὸν Πλάτωνος εἰρηκότος Ἕλληνας ὑπολαμβάνειν μὴ εἶναι τὸν κόσμον ἀΐδιον, ὅπου γε δὴ καὶ αὐτὸς Ἀριστοτέλης, ὃς πολλὰ περὶ αὐτοῦ καὶ μεγάλα καὶ τῆς ἐκείνου ὡς εἰπεῖν ἀϊδιότητος – οὐκ οἶδ’
35 ὅπως τὸν διδάσκαλον παρακρούσασθαι βουληθείς, καθάπερ καὶ ἐν ἑτέροις πεποίηκε – καταβάλλεται δόγμασιν, ἐκ τῶν ἑαυτοῦ ῥημάτων τε καὶ ἀποδείξεων μὴ εἶναι ἀΐδιον ὑπεμφαίνει; ἐν γὰρ τῷ φυσικῷ ὀγδόῳ οὕτω περὶ τῆς ἐκείνου αἰτίας φαίνεται διαλεγόμενος, ὡς ἀκινήτως κινοῦσαν τὰ σύμπαντα, καὶ τὸν ἄπειρον ἤδη χρόνον, ἀσώματον εἶναι καὶ ἀμερῆ. εἰ γὰρ σῶμα ἦν, τοῦτο δὲ πᾶν ἢ
40 πεπερασμένον ἢ ἄπειρον· μὴ ὂν δὲ ἄπειρον ἔσται πεπερασμένον, καὶ πεπερασμένην ἔχον δύναμιν· οὐκ ἔσται ἄρα σῶμα ἀΐδιον, ἐπεὶ οὐδὲ δύναμιν κέκτηται ἀΐδιον. εἰ γὰρ τῆς μὲν δυνάμεως πεπερασμένης ἔσται ἡ οὐσία ἄπειρος, μάτην ἔσται καὶ οὐ πρὸς τέλος ἀφορῶσα· τοῦτο δὲ ψεῦδος καὶ ταῖς ἁπάντων δόξαις ἐναντιούμενον. οὐκ ἄρα ὁ κόσμος ἀΐδιος.

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24 ἡμέτερα – 25 σώματα cf. Porphyrius, Contra Christianos, 101 – 102 (frag. 93/2, frag. 94) | **30** γένεσιν – κόσμου Plato, Timaeus 28b | **31** ψυχῆς πρὸ αὐτοῦ Plato, Timaeus 34c | **38** ἀκινήτως κινοῦσαν Aristoteles, Physica VIII.5, 258b4 – 5 ἄπειρον ἤδη χρόνον Aristoteles, Physica VIII.9, 266a6 – 7 | **39** ἀσώματον – ἀμερῆ Aristoteles, Physica VIII.10, 267b25 – 26 εἰ – 40 ἄπειρον Aristoteles, Physica VIII.10, 267b19 – 20 | **40** μὴ – πεπερασμένον Cf. Aristoteles, De caelo I.5 – 7, 271b1 – 276a17 | **41** πεπερασμένην ἔχον δύναμιν Aristoteles, Physica VIII.10, 267b22 – 24; Philoponus, Contra Proclum, 235.4 – 12 (Arg. VI.29)
45 τὸ – παράδειγμα cf. Proclus, In Timaeum, tom.1, 392.25 – 393.1 et Philoponus, Contra Pro-

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24 ἄλλοις] ἄλλους **e** | **26** πεφυκότων] πεφηκηκότων **e** ἀπίθανον] ἐπίθανον **op** δόξειε] δόξειεν **B**, correxit in δόξετε | **29** φιλοσοφίᾳ] φιλοσοφίαν **e** | **32** θαυμαστὸν Πλάτωνος interductum alteravimus cum *Ts*; καὶ τί θαυμαστόν; Πλάτωνος εἰρηκότος *Jo*, *Ket* | **37** ὑπεμφαίνει] ὑπεμφαίνειν **Vmnop**, *Jo*, *Ket*. interductum editorum alteravimus | **38** κινοῦσαν] κινοῦσα **Vmnop** | **39** σῶμα – 40 δὲ omittit **n** | **41** ἔχον] ἔχων **op**

45 Ἀλλά φασι τὸ τοῦ κόσμου παράδειγμα τῶν ἑστώτων εἶναι καὶ μονίμων, κἀν τούτῳ ἔχει τὸ εἶναι τῷ καὶ εἶναι παράδειγμα· ἔσται ἄρα καὶ ἡ πρὸς τοῦτο βλέπουσα εἰκὼν ἀεὶ ὄν, καὶ ὡσαύτως ἐχούσης τῆς φύσεως. ἔνεστι τοίνυν ἐκ πλειόνων τεκμαίρεσθαι μὴ ἀναγκαῖον εἶναι τὸν λόγον. οὐ γὰρ εἰ τὸ πρῶτον, ἀνάγκη καὶ τὸ μετ' ἐκεῖνο ἀΐδιον· ὥσπερ γὰρ ἡμῶν γινομένων τε καὶ φθειρομένων, ἑκάσ-
50 τοτε οὐκ ἔφθαρται τὸ τῆς γενέσεως αἴτιον, ἀλλ' ἀεί ἐστι ἡμῶν μὴ ὄντων ἀϊδίων, οὕτω καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦδε τοῦ παντὸς συμβέβηκεν. ἀεὶ γὰρ ἐπὶ τῶν γινομένων τε καὶ φθειρομένων ἔστι τι πρῶτον ἀΐδιον, ἀφ' οὗ τὸ γίνεσθαι καὶ ὁπωσοῦν εἶναι παρειλήφασιν.

Εἰ δ' ὅτι φθειρομένου τοῦ παντὸς τῆς ἀξίας ἠλάττωται τὸ τοῦ κόσμου αἴτιον,
55 λεγέτωσαν πότερον προαιρέσει ἢ φύσει ποιεῖ. εἰ μὲν οὖν προαιρέσει μόνον, οὐκ ἀεὶ πέφυκε ποιεῖν· εἰ δὲ καὶ φύσει, καὶ τὸ μετ' ἐκεῖνο ἄρα, καὶ ἔτι τὸ μετὰ τοῦτο, καὶ στήσεται ἡ κάθοδος μέχρι τινὸς ἀϊδίου, μεθ' ὃ οὐκ ἔστιν ἀΐδιον.

Ἀλλὰ πάντα τῷ εἴδει φασὶν εἶναι ἀΐδια. οὔκουν καὶ ὁ κόσμος ἐρῶ, ἐπεὶ οὐ παρὰ τὴν ἀσθένειαν τοῦ ποιοῦντος, παρὰ δὲ τὴν οἰκείαν ἐστὶ φθειρόμενον.
60 τὴν γὰρ ὕλην πατρογενῆ τὰ λόγιά φασιν, ἀλλοιωτόν τι καὶ ῥευστὸν οὖσαν, καὶ πρῶτον, ὥς τισιν ἔδοξε, κακόν, καὶ πενίαν καὶ στέρησιν ὡς ἀληθῆ· καὶ οὐχ ὁ πατὴρ συνέφθαρται αὐτῇ φθορᾷ ὑποπιπτούσῃ καὶ μηδέποτε τυγχανούσῃ ὄν. ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ τὸ τοῦ παντὸς εἶδος ἐν αὐτῇ φθειρομένῃ ἀεὶ καὶ παντοίως κινουμένῃ, ὡς εἴρηται, πῶς οὐκ ἄλογον τὴν μὲν ὕλην φθαρτὴν εἶναι νομίζειν, τὸν δὲ κόσμον
65 ὄντα ἐν αὐτῇ διαμένειν; οὐ γὰρ ἄϋλον τὸ τοῦ παντὸς εἶδος, οὐδέ γε αὐθυπόστα-

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clum, 24.1–16 (Arg. II) | **50** ἀλλ' – ἀϊδίων Cf. Philoponus, In Aristotelis De anima, 7.11–19 (prooemium) | **57** στήσεται – ἀΐδιον Cf. Philoponus, Contra Proclum, 43.12–15 (Arg. III) | **60** ὕλην πατρογενῆ Oracula Chaldaica, frg. 49.1 | **61** κακόν Plotinus I.8 [51], 14.50–51, II.4 [12], 16.24, V.9 [5], 10.18–20 πενιάν Plotinus II.4 [12], 16.19–23 στέρησιν Plotinus II.4 [12], 16.1–8, V.9 [5], 10.18–20

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45 παράδειγμα] περίδειγμα **e** | **46** τούτῳ] τούτων **e** τὸ εἶναι τῷ καὶ εἶναι παράδειγμα] τῷ εἶναι παράδειγμα **B**; τοῦ εἶναι παράδειγμα *Ts* | **47** ἔνεστι] ἔνεσι **p**; ἕν ἐστι **Vmno**; ἕν ἐστι **MB**; ἕν ἐστιν **e** | **49** γὰρ omittit **e** ἡμῶν omittit **n** ἑκάστοτε] interductum codicorum et editorum alteravimus. Post ἑκάστοτε comma posuerunt **codd.** praeter **p** | **50** ἡμῶν – ἀϊδίων **MBVe**, editores; ἡμῶν καὶ ὄντων ἀϊδίων **mno**; ἡμῶν καὶ τῶν ὄντων ἀϊδίων **p** | **52** ἀΐδιον] ἀΐδιου (*sic*) **e** | **55** πότερον] πρότερον **Bnop** et **m** ante correctionem; πρότερα **e** φύσει] φύσιν **e** | **56** τό] τὸ τὸ **p** | **58** οὔκουν] οὐκ οὖν **Vmnop**; οὐκοῦν **MBe**, editores; emendavimus | **59** παρὰ[2]] περὶ **enop** φθειρόμενον] φθειρόμενος editores; *Ket:* "φ – ν codd. praeter M" sed falso quia et **M** lectionem φθειρόμενον habet. Nihilominus subiectum sententiae ὁ κόσμος est. Versionem codicorum restituimus, interductum alteravimus secundum codices | **60** πατρογενῆ] προγενῆ **mnop** οὖσαν] οὖσα **Vmop** | **61** ὡς ἀληθῆ **codd.**; ὡς ἀληθῶς editores sine teste | **62** ὑποπιπτούσῃ] ὑποπιπτούσης **Vmnop** τυγχανούσῃ coniecit *Ts*; -ούσης **codd.** | **64** φθαρτὴν] φθαρτεῖν **Vmnop**

τον οὐδὲ παράδειγμα ἑτέρου, ἀλλ' ἐν ἄλλῳ μὲν ὂν καὶ τούτου ὁσημέραι δεόμενον, φθαρτὸν ἂν εἴη καὶ ῥευστόν. εἰ γὰρ τῆς μὲν ὕλης ἀεὶ ῥεούσης τὸ ἐν αὐτῇ διαμένειν πέφυκεν εἶδος, ἔσται τὸ αὐτὸ ἔνυλον ἅμα καὶ ἄϋλον, καὶ φθαρτὸν καὶ ἄφθαρτον, καὶ μάτην ὕλη καὶ ὄγκος, καὶ ποσὸν ἅμα καὶ ποιόν, καὶ ὅσα
70 εἰδῶν πάθη ἐνύλων καὶ σωμάτων εἶναι λέγεται.

Ἀλλὰ τὴν μὲν φθαρτὴν εἶναί φασι καὶ μεταβάλλουσαν ἀεί, τὴν δὲ ἄφθαρτον καὶ ἀκήρατον. ἀλλ' οὐ δοκεῖ· εἰ γὰρ δύο, φανερὸν ὡς ἀλλήλων διαφέρουσι· καὶ ἢ κοινῶς ἢ ἰδίως ἢ ἰδιαίτατα διαφορᾷ. εἰ μὲν οὖν κοινῶς, ποτὲ μὲν μία ἔσται καὶ δύο πάλιν, καὶ δὴ καί τινα ἰδιότητα ἔχουσα καὶ ταύτην κατὰ συμβεβηκός· ἀλλὰ
75 τοῦτο ἄτοπον. εἰ δ' ἄλλως καὶ κατὰ τὰς τῶν διαφορῶν ἰδιότητας, τίνι διαφέρει τοῦ εἴδους, ὕλη οὖσα καὶ πάντη ἀνείδεον; μία ἄρα ἡ τοῦ παντὸς ὕλη ῥευστὴ καὶ ἀλλοιωτὴ καὶ μηδὲν τῶν ἐν αὐτῇ ἔχουσα ἴδιον· διὸ καὶ ἅπαν τὸ ἐν αὐτῇ ῥευστόν τε καὶ ἀλλοιωτόν, ὥστε καὶ ὁ κόσμος ὡσαύτως.

Εἰ δέ τις οἴεται τῶν μὲν καθέκαστα εἶναι τὴν φθοράν, τῶν δὲ καθόλου οὐδα-
80 μῶς, ἴστω ὡς καὶ τὸ τοῦ κόσμου εἶδος μερικόν ἐστι καὶ καθέκαστον. ἅπαν δὲ τὸ τοιοῦτον ἐν ὕλῃ· πᾶν δὲ τὸ ἐν ὕλῃ φθαρτόν· διὸ καὶ ὁ κόσμος ἄρα.

Ἔτι δέ φασι διελόμενοι, πότερον φθειρομένου τοῦ παντὸς ἔσται τι ἢ οὐκ ἔσται· εἰ μὲν οὖν ἔσται, πότερον οὗτος ὁ κόσμος ἢ ἕτερος· καὶ εἰ μὲν οὗτος, μάτην τὸ φθαρῆναι· εἰ δ' ἕτερός τις, ἢ κρείττων τοῦ προτέρου ἢ χείρων ἢ ὅμοιος·
85 ἐπεὶ δὲ οὔτε κρείττων δυνατόν – ἦν γὰρ ἂν καὶ πρότερον – οὔτε χείρων, ὡς μὴ ἂν ἄτοπος δόξειεν ὁ τεχνίτης, οὔθ' ὅμοιος διὰ τὸ καὶ μάτην τὸ φθαρῆναι καὶ αὖθις γενέσθαι πάλιν τὸν αὐτόν· ἀΐδιος ἄρα καὶ ἄφθαρτος ὁ αἰσθητός ἐστι κόσμος. πρὸς οὖν ταῦτα εἴρηταί μοι καὶ πρότερον, ὡς οὐκ ἀναγκαῖον οὕτω φάναι. ἐπεὶ τὴν μὲν ὕλην παρ' ἑαυτῆς ἔχειν τὸ μὴ εἶναί φαμεν, παρὰ δὲ θεοῦ τὸ εἶναι

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71 ἄφθαρτον καὶ ἀκήρατον cf. Ps-Aristoteles, De mundo, 52 (392a9) | **82** πότερον – 87 κόσμος Philo, De aeternitate mundi, 210–215 (= § 41–44) et Zacharias Scholasticus, Ammonius, 99.131–139 (= PG 85, 1032B–1033 A) | **89** τὸ μὴ εἶναι Cf. Italus, Quaestio 19, 20.33–35, Quaestio 24, 26.3–4, Quaestio 92, 145.18–20. Cf. Quaestio 91, 139.10–12

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66 ὁσημέραι] ὡσημέραι **B**; ὡσεὶ μέραι **Vmno**; ὡσείμεραι **p** | **71** μεταβάλλουσαν] μεταβάλλου **MBVemn**; in margine legitur μεταβάλλουσαν **m** et **n**; in margine legitur μεταβάλλου **o** | **72** – 73 διαφέρουσι· καὶ ἢ κοινῶς] interductum alteravimus. διαφέρουσι, καὶ ἢ κοινῶς editores | **73** ἰδιαίτατα] ἰδιώτατα **Vmnop**; ἰδιαιτάτῃ editores, sed falso. Vide Porphyrius, Isagoge, 8.7–8 | **74** κατὰ συμβεβηκός] κατασυμβεβικός **V**; κατὰ τὸ συμβεβηκός **p** | **75** ἰδιότητας, τίνι διαφέρει] τίνα διαφέρῃ **e**, τίνι διαφέρῃ **e²**; ἰδιότητας διαφέρει *Jo* et *Ket*, sed sine sensu | **77** ἅπαν] ἅπαντα **e** | **78** ἀλλοιωτόν] ἀλλοιωτοί **n** | **81** post ἄρα rubricam novam aperuimus; incipit enim novum argumentum auctoris | **83** πότερον] πότερα **e** | **84** φθαρῆναι] φθαρεῖναι **Vmnop** | **88** εἴρηταί] εἴρητέ **V** post φάναι interductum codicorum et editorum alteravimus

90 κοσμουμένην τε καὶ εἰς εἶδος ἀγομένην βέλτιον, φανερὸν ἄρα ὡς τὸ ἐκ ταύτης ἅμα καὶ τοῦ εἴδους οὐκ ἔστι μὲν δι' αὐτήν, ἔστι δὲ διὰ θάτερον· ὃ δὲ καὶ ἔστι τε καὶ οὐκ ἔστι, οὐκ ἀΐδιον, ἀλλὰ φθαρτόν. οὐ γὰρ τῆς φθορᾶς τὸ ποιῆσαν αἴτιον, οὐδ' ὅτι ἐν μεταμελείᾳ γεγονός, ἔφθειρέ τε καὶ αὖθις ἐποίησεν, ἀλλ' ὃ πέφυκε δημιουργεῖν οὐκ ἐν ὕλῃ πέφυκε διαμένειν, καθάπερ οὐδὲ αἱ τῶν νυκτερίδων
95 ὄψεις τὸν ἥλιον καθορᾶν· ἐκ μὴ ὄντος ἄρα καὶ ὄντος ὁ κόσμος· διὸ καὶ ὂν ἅμα καὶ οὐκ ὄν, ὂν μὲν οὐκ ἐσόμενον, οὐκ ὂν δὲ ἐσόμενον.

Ἀλλὰ πῶς ἂν εἴη τῷ ἀριθμῷ ἕν, ἀπορήσει ἄν τις. οὐ γὰρ δὴ τὸ φθειρόμενον καὶ αὖθις γινόμενον τὴν ἑαυτοῦ σῷζόν ἐστι μεταβολήν. ὥσπερ γὰρ οὐκ ἔστι μία καὶ ἡ αὐτὴ ἡ τεμνομένη καὶ πάλιν γιγνομένη κίνησις – δεῖ γὰρ εἶναι τοῦ αὐτοῦ
100 καὶ ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ καὶ αὖθις κατὰ τὸ αὐτό – οὕτω καὶ τὸ φθαρὲν καὶ πάλιν γινόμενον οὐκ ἔσται τὸ αὐτό· οὐκ ἔσται ἄρα ὁ κόσμος φθαρεὶς ἕν τι καὶ ταὐτόν, ἀλλὰ πλείω. ἢ ἓν ἤδη καὶ ταὐτόν, εἰ καὶ μὴ ἀριθμῷ, ἀλλὰ εἴδει· τοῦτο ἄρα τὸ ἀληθὲς ἕν. τὸ γὰρ ἀριθμῷ ἓν τῇ ὕλῃ λέγεται εἶναι ἕν· ὃ δὲ τῇ ὕλῃ ἐστὶ τοιοῦτον, οὐχ ἁπλῶς, ἀλλὰ τῷ μὴ ὄντι· ὃ δὲ τῷ μὴ ὄντι τί, οὔτε ἕν, οὔτε ὂν ῥηθήσεται· ἓν
105 ἄρα τὸ τῷ εἴδει ἁπλῶς· διὸ καὶ οὗτος ὁ κόσμος. τὸ γὰρ ἓν τῷ εἴδει οὐχ ἁπλῶς· καὶ γὰρ τετραχῶς κατὰ τοῦτο Πλάτων καὶ Ἀριστοτέλης ἕν, καὶ ἅτερος αὐτὸς ἑαυτῷ.

Ἐπεὶ οὖν εἴρηται περὶ κόσμου ἱκανῶς ὡς οὐκ ἂν δύναιτο μὴ φθαρῆναι, εἶδος ἔνυλον ὢν καὶ καθέκαστον, φανερὸν ὡς καὶ γενησόμενον αὖθις. ἡ γὰρ φθορὰ οὐ
110 παντελής· οὐδέ γε εἰς τὸ ἁπλῶς μὴ ὄν, ἀλλοίωσις δέ τις φυσικὴ καὶ μεταβολή, ἣν διὰ τὴν παράβασιν ἐπεκτήσατο· καὶ δεῖ αὖθις γενέσθαι τε καὶ εἶναι τὰ ὄντα, τῆς αἰτίας κινουμένης ἀεὶ καὶ κινούσης καὶ μὴ ἐώσης ἀργόν τι εἶναι καὶ ἄγονον, ἢ ἀνείδεον· καὶ τοῦτο οὐκ ἀπείρως διὰ τὸ μὴ εἶναι τὸ ἄπειρον. ἐπεὶ δὲ φθαρῆναι

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90 εἶδος ἀγομένην βέλτιον Plotinus, II.4 [12], 3.4 – 5 | **94** οὐδὲ – 95 καθορᾶν Aristoteles, Metaphysica II.1, 993b9 – 10 | **99** δεῖ – 100 αὐτό Philoponus, In Aristotelis Physicorum libros, 856.26 – 27 and 907.18 – 20 | **103** τὸ – ἓν Aristoteles, Metaphysica V.6, 1016b31 – 33 | **104** ἓν – 105 κόσμος cf. Origenes, Selecta in Psalmos, 1093 | **106** τετραχῶς cf. Porphyrius, Isagoge, 12.13 – 22

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90 post βέλτιον interductum codicorum et editorum alteravimus | **93** ἀλλ' ὅ] ἀλλ' ὅτι ὃ coniecit Tsereteli, sed non requiritur | **94** πέφυκε] πέφηκε **e** | **97** ἀπορήσει] ἀπορήσειεν **p**, et **mno** in margine, et editores | **99** γιγνομένη] γινομένη **B** | **100** φθαρέν] φθαρτὸν *Jo* et *Ket* sine teste, falso γινόμενον] γινομενόμενον **e** | **105** τὸ – 107 ἑαυτῷ delevit *Ts* scribendo: "post κόσμος omnibus in codd. haec verba sine dubio corrupta leguntur, quae expedire non possum." | **106** τετραχῶς] τέτρως **MVemnop**; ἑτέρως **B**, editores; emendavimus. Varians autem τέτρως ex abbreviatione pervenit, manifeste cum corruptione accentus. Vide Porphyrius, Isagoge, 12.13 – 22. Hic Italus hoc principium proprietati τὸ ἓν applicare videtur. ἅτερος] ἕτερος *Ket* | **109** ὢν] ὂν **BVmnop**, editores | **110** ἀλλοίωσις] ἀλλ' οἴωσις **Vmno**

ἔδει καὶ γενέσθαι καὶ οὐκ ἀπείρως εἶναί τε καὶ φθείρεσθαι – μάτην γὰρ ἔσται
115 γιγνόμενος ἀεὶ καὶ αὖθις φθειρόμενος – φανερὸν ὡς ἔσται ποτὲ διαμένων τῆς
πρώην ἀπαλλαγεὶς κακίας, ἣν δι' ἡμᾶς ὡς εἴρηται πέπονθε. καὶ οὐ δεῖ πάλιν
ἡμᾶς διὰ γενέσεως ἔσεσθαι – τοῦτο γὰρ τῆς φθορᾶς – ἀλλὰ τρόπον ἕτερον, ὃν
ἀνάστασιν ὀνομάζομεν. ἔσται ἄρα ἀνάστασις· καὶ εἰ τοῦτο, καὶ τῶν βεβιωμένων
ἡ κρίσις καὶ τῶν ἔργων ἀνταπόδοσις.

120 Πρὸς οὖν ταύτην, ὦ βασιλεῦ, παρασκευαστέον τὴν ἡμέραν, καὶ ἀρετῆς ἐπι-
μελῶς ἀνθεκτέον, καὶ πειρατέον ὅσα βασιλεῖ ἐκμανθάνειν ἐπιτήδεια. καὶ γὰρ
βασιλεὺς θεῷ παραπλήσιος καὶ πῦρ κακίας ἀναλίσκον, ὅλος ὀφθαλμός, καὶ οὖς
ἅμα καὶ νοῦς, δικαιοσύνην τῶν ἄκρων καθαρὰν διαφυλάττων, ἀνδρείαν οὐκ
ἀεὶ φοβερὸν καὶ ἀμείλικτον ὁρῶσαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ μειδιῶσαν ἐνίοτε· ὡς ἂν μή –
125 φοβερὸς ὑπάρχων καὶ ἄτεγκτος – μισητὸς εἶναι νομίζοιτο καὶ φευκτός· ἀλλὰ
καὶ σωφροσύνην, μήτε θεοῦ τὴν ψυχὴν χωρίζουσαν, μήτε κόσμου παντελῶς
ἀποτέμνουσαν – τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἀσεβές, τὸ δὲ βασιλεῦσιν οὐκ εὐσεβές – καὶ φρόνη-
σιν, πᾶσαν συνιστῶσαν ἀρετὴν καὶ ἐπιτάττουσαν ταῖς ἄλλαις ὡς ἀληθῶς, καὶ ἐν
πείρᾳ τυγχάνουσαν καὶ ἐπιστήμῃ τῶν ὄντων, ὡς τῇ μὲν πείρᾳ πρακτικὸς εἴη, τῇ
130 δ' ἐπιστήμῃ θεωρητικός. οὗτος ἄρα τέλειος, οὗτος βασιλεύς, οὐ μόνον ἑτέρου,
ἀλλὰ καὶ ἑαυτοῦ. οὕτω τὰ οἰκεῖα εὖ διατιθέμενος, τοῖς ὑπ' αὐτὸν αἴτιος πολλῶν
γενήσεται τῶν ἀγαθῶν, ὥσπερ ἀπό τινος πηγῆς ἀψοφητὶ ῥέοντος ὕδατος, καὶ
ἅπασαν ἀρδεύοντος τὴν περίχωρον, ἐν ᾗ δένδρα τεθηλότα, καρπὸς ἄφθονος, λει-
μῶνες ὡραϊσμένοι τοῖς ἄνθεσιν, ὀργάδες δροσεραὶ καὶ κατάρρυτοι· ἐν ᾗ οὐ θυμὸς
135 πρὸς λόγον φιλονεικῶν ὑπερβαίνει, οὔτ' αὖθις ὑποχαλῶν ἀσθενῆ καὶ ἀνώμαλον
ἐπιδείκνυσιν, αἰδούμενος μάλιστα ὡς ἄριστον τὸν λόγον ἡνίοχον, καὶ τὸ ἐκείνῳ
δοκοῦν ὡς ἥδιστα ἀπεργαζόμενος· οὐκ ἐπιθυμία θολοῦσα τὸν λογισμὸν ἀλλο-
κότων ἡδονῶν· οὐ μαλακία, οὐκ ἀκρασία, ἄλλοτε ἄλλως σπαράττουσαι τὴν
ψυχήν, ἀλλὰ καρτερία καὶ ἐγκράτεια, αἱ ταύταις ἀντικείμεναι καὶ ἐφ' ὑψηλοτέραν

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122 πῦρ κακίας ἀναλίσκον Dt 4:24; Heb 12:29 ὅλος – 123 νοῦς cf. Ps-Macarius, Homiliae spirituales, 2.41–48 (homilia 1) | **127** –130 φρόνησιν – θεωρητικός cf. Plotinus I.2 [19], 7.1–17 | **136** ὡς – 137 ἀπεργαζόμενος Plato, Phaedrus 254e. Cf. Plotinus I.2 [19], 5.21–31

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118 ἄρα] γάρ **op** | **121** βασιλεῖ] βασιλεῦ **Vmnop** | **122** ἀναλίσκον] ἀναλίσκων coniecit Tsereteli ὅλος] ὅλον **Vmnop**; **B** ambo variantes exhibet [1]καὶ – 122 νοῦς] interductum alteravimus cum *Ts*; καὶ πῦρ κακίας ἀναλίσκον ὅλος, ὀφθαλμὸς καὶ οὖς ἅμα καὶ νοῦς, *Jo*, *Ket* | **123** ἀνδρείαν] καὶ ἀνδρείαν coniecit *Ts*, accepit *Ket* | **127** ἀποτέμνουσαν] ἀποτέμνου **codd.** τὸ μὲν γάρ] τὸ γὰρ μὲν *Jo* et *Ket*, sine teste | **129** πρακτικός] πρακτηκὸς **n** | **130** οὗτος] οὗτος/οὕτως **M**; οὕτως **Vemnop** | **132** ἀψοφητί] ἀποφητί **e**, sed correxit in ἀποψοφ- | **133** τεθηλότα] τεθηκότα **op** | **138** σπαράττουσαι] παράττουσαι **op** | **139** ὑψηλοτέραν] ὑψηλοτέρα **Vmnop**; ὑψολότερα **Me** τελειότητα] τελειότητες **p**

140 ἀνάγουσαι τελειότητα δεικνύουσαι τὸ ἓν καὶ ὂν καὶ ἀγαθόν· Πατέρα, οὗ οὐκ ἔσται πατὴρ ἕτερος, οὔτ᾽ αὖθις αἴτιος ὑπερβεβηκώς, πάντων αἴτιον ὄντα καὶ πασῶν, ἀφ᾽ οὗ ταῦτα καὶ δι᾽ οὗ καὶ πρὸς ὅν, οὐ τεμνόντων οὐσίας τῶν ὀνομάτων οὐδὲ γνωρισμάτων φύσεων ὑπαρχόντων· καὶ αὖθις Υἱόν, ἐφ᾽ οὗ τὰ τρία καὶ ὡσαύτως, καὶ γὰρ μὴ μεταπίπτειν ἔφασαν· καὶ Πνεῦμα, ὁμοίως δημιουργὸν ὄν,
145 καὶ θεός, γεννήσεως ἅμα καὶ ἀγεννησίας χωρίς.

Ἀλλ᾽ εἰ θεὸς καὶ θεὸς καὶ αὖθις θεός, πῶς πάλιν εἷς θεὸς καὶ φύσις μία καὶ μία δύναμις; ἢ οὐκ ἀναγκαῖον. οὐ γὰρ οἱ πολλοὶ ἄνθρωποι καὶ φύσεις ἀνθρώπων διάφοροι τυγχάνουσι· ἀλλ᾽ ἡ μὲν φύσις μονάς, τὸ δὲ τῶν ὑποστάσεων ἀριθμός.

Καὶ εἰ ἁπλοῦν, πῶς ἀριθμός; οὐκοῦν πρὸς ἡμᾶς. οὕτω γὰρ ἐπίστασθαι καὶ εἰ-
150 δέναι πεφύκαμεν· τὸ δὲ οὐκ ἀριθμῷ ὑποβέβληται, οὐ φύσει ὑποτέτακται, οὐ πλήθει ὀνομάτων, οὐκ ἄλλῳ οὐδενὶ τῶν ὅσα ἐπ᾽ ἀνθρώπων λέγεται. ἁπλοῦν, ἀλλ᾽ οὐ κυρίως, ἐπεὶ καὶ τῶν ὑπ᾽ αὐτοῦ γεγονότων· ἄναρχον, ἀΐδιον, καὶ τούτων οὐδὲν ἔχον καθ᾽ ἑαυτό· φῶς καὶ ζωὴ καὶ αὖθις οὐ ταῦτα· καὶ γὰρ ἐκεῖθεν· οὐδὲ τί ὄν, ἐπεὶ καὶ παρ᾽ αὐτοῦ τὰ ὄντα κἀκείνου ἐφίεται· ἀλλ᾽ ἓν ἴσως καὶ τἀγαθόν, καὶ
155 ταῦτα πεφυσμένως· καὶ μονὰς τρισυπόστατος· ἧς Πατὴρ ἄναρχος, καὶ τοῦτο ἁπλῶς – χρόνῳ γὰρ καὶ αἰτίᾳ – καὶ Υἱὸς συνάναρχος οὐκ αἰτίᾳ, ἀλλὰ χρόνῳ· οὕτω δὴ καὶ τὸ Πνεῦμα ἐκ τοῦ Πατρὸς προελθόν. καὶ ταῦτα ἓν καὶ τρία πάλιν· τὸ μὲν φύσις, τὰ δὲ ὑποστάσεσι· καὶ αὖθις, τὸ μὲν οὐσίᾳ, τὸ δὲ πρόσωπα, οὐκ ἀθεεὶ συνταττόντων καὶ συναρμολογούντων καλῶς τῇ μὲν οὐσίᾳ τὴν φύσιν,
160 τὰ δὲ λοιπὰ τοῖς λοιποῖς, καὶ γὰρ περιεκτικὰ ἄμφω· καὶ θεότης καὶ οὐ θεότης ὁ Υἱός, ἀλλὰ θεός, οὔτε τῶν προσώπων ἕτερον, ἀλλ᾽ ἐν θεότητι ταὐτὰ καὶ ταῦτα

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142 οὐ τεμνόντων οὐσίας Gregorius Naz., Oratio 39 (cap. 12), 172.4. Cf. Gregorius Naz., Oratio 29 (cap. 2), 178.12 | **145** γεννήσεως – χωρίς Ioannes Damascenus, Expositio fidei, 9.18 (cap. 2 [= liber I, cap. 2]) | **153** φῶς cf. Jn 1:4 – 9; 3:19; 8:12; 9:5; 12:36; 12:46; 1Jn 1:5 ζωὴ cf. Jn 1:4; 11:25; 14:6; cf. Ps-Dionysius, De divinis nominibus I.6, 118 – 119 | **154** κἀκείνου ἐφίεται cf. Aristoteles, Ethica Nicomachea I.1, 1094a1 – 3; X.2, 1172b14 – 15 et Proclus, Elementatio theologica, 10.4 – 6 (prop. 8); 14.18 (prop. 12); 34.32 – 33 (prop. 31) | **155** Πατὴρ – 157 προελθόν Gregorius Naz., Oratio 39 (cap. 12), 174.10 – 15 | **158** οὐκ ἀθεεὶ cf. Odysseia 18:353 | **160** περιεκτικὰ ἄμφω cf. Plotinus III.7 [45], 2.10

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141 αἴτιος] αἴτιον *Jo* et *Ket* ὑπερβεβηκὼς coniecit *Ts*; -βηκός **codd.**, *Jo* et *Ket* | **142** πρὸς ὃν coniecerunt editores; πρὸς ὅ **codd.** | **144** μὴ μεταπίπτειν emendavimus ex Greg. Naz., Orat. 39, cap. 12; μεταπίπτειν **codd.**, editores | **146** [2]καὶ omittit **B** | **147** οἱ] εἰ coniecerunt *Jo* et *Ket*, sed non requiritur | **148** τυγχάνουσι] τυγχάνου **MBe** | **149** οὐκοῦν] οὐκ οὖν **mnop** | **151** ἐπ᾽] ὑπ᾽ **B** λέγεται. ἁπλοῦν] hic interductum alteravimus secundum **codd.**; λέγεται, ἁπλοῦν *Ts*; λέγεται ἁπλοῦν *Jo* et *Ket* | **156** συνάναρχος] συναρχός **ep** | **158** οὐσίᾳ legimus in chiasmo; οὐσία editores. Nam duo formae nominis non differunt in codicibus πρόσωπα] πρόσωπον **Vemnop**, editores | **159** καὶ **codd.**; ἀλλά coniecit *Jo* | **161** ταὐτὰ coniecimus; ταῦτα **codd.**, editores

μιᾷ καὶ φύσει καὶ οὐσίᾳ καὶ θελήσει ὡσαύτως. ἀλλὰ καὶ θεότης ἄρα ταῦτα. οὐ γὰρ κατηγοροῦμεν ὡς Ἕλληνες τὰ μὴ ὄντα, οὐδὲ θεότητος τετράδα παρεισάγομεν. καὶ γὰρ ἡ τριὰς πρῶτος ἀριθμὸς τῷ μὴ μετρεῖσθαι ἑτέρῳ καὶ ἐξ ἑτέρων μὴ συγ-
165 κεῖσθαι· διὸ καὶ μονὰς εἰς δυάδα κινηθεῖσα μέχρι τριάδος ἔστη.

Ταῦτα, ὦ βασιλεῦ, τῶν ἐμῶν λόγων τὸ κεφάλαιον, ταῦτα τῆς φιλοσοφίας ἡ κρηπίς, ταῦτά σοι ἐνδιαίτημα καὶ μελέτη ὑπαρχέτω, πρὸς ταῦτα ἀποβλέπων βασίλευε καὶ εὐθύμει, ὡς ἂν καὶ θεῷ εὐαρεστήσῃς καὶ τῶν ἀναφαιρέτων ἀγαθῶν καὶ αἰωνίων κληρονομήσῃς.

71. That the world is corruptible and that there will be a resurrection

[Prolegomenon addressed to the emperor]

(1) It is a great and very beneficial thing for emperors, I think, not only to converse with those who know how to lead an army and serve as men-at-arms, as well as to examine, together with these, the best [soldiers], [deciding] that this one is apt to be a commander and that one to be a file leader, that this one is more fit to be an archer and that one to be a slinger, but also to spend time with letters, to be conversant with the arts[39] and with ethical inquiries on a daily basis, and to search out carefully what justice is, what prudence is, and which are the virtues that follow from these[40] and to find out that,[41] from among these, some are imperfect, while others are most perfect by their nature. We happen to be perfect or imperfect by means of these [virtues], so that it is to be supposed that we have come to being for their sake, rather than they for the

166 ἐμῶν] μῶν **e** | **167** ἐνδιαίτημα] ἐνδιαίτιμα **op**

163 καὶ – 165 συγκεῖσθαι cf. (Ps-)Iamblichus, Theologoumena arithmeticae, 8.16 – 9.3 | **165** μονὰς – ἔστη Gregorius of Nazianzus, Oratio 29 (cap. 2), 180.13 – 14 et Maximus Confessor, Ambigua ad Thomam, 6 (Ambiguum I.1) (= PG 91, 1033D) | **168** ἀναφαιρέτων cf. Jn 16:22

[39] with the arts] Literally: “with the Muses”. However, here, Italos means philosophy.

[40] from these] Italos speaks about the cardinal virtues, which are: prudence (φρόνησις), justice (δικαιοσύνη), self-restraint (σωφροσύνη) and courage (ἀνδρεία). According to Italos, the second two virtues – and also many others – follow from the first two.

[41] to find out that] We consider here the structure ἀνιχνεύειν … τί μὲν …, τί δὲ …καὶ τίνες, καὶ ὡς as an *apo koinou* construction: ἀνιχνεύειν meaning with the interrogative particles τί, τίνες “to search out”, “to investigate”, while with the objective ὡς particle, “to find out”.

sake of something else. In fact, our constitution is not simply such that we should exist, but that we should be good and noble by the fact of possessing the virtues: some of these we acquire through reason, while others we acquire through also practicing them, separating the soul equally from pleasure and pain, whose works are the passions fighting against us, and because of which we have fallen short of our own perfection. For on the one hand we become the workmen of evil because of pleasure, and on the other hand we turn away from the most noble acts because of pain. And this, I think, is the meaning of the symbolic expression of the ancients, according to which "There are two urns that stand on the door-sill of Zeus," whence come adulteries, murders and, unholiest of all, idolatries. For what could be worse for the rational living being who has killed his soul, denied his nature and, finally, removed himself from the blessed life?

(19) Since, however, I have decided to speak about virtue, and because I hold that the precise sum of virtue is piety, and the sum of piety is that at the resurrection we will receive the recompense for our deeds, we must first talk about the resurrection and try to demonstrate as much as possible, to those who listen attentively and with good-will, that it is necessary that all rise, and that this also follows for us[82] from the nature of things. Claiming that the world is eternal, however, and supposing that our bodies will be shared with others too, constitutes an obstacle to such a demonstration. In fact, if the universe were eternal, and if our bodies were by their very nature always in generation, then the common talk about the resurrection would seem implausible. So, we must first show that this world is not eternal, and then we can treat the other issues in due course.

[Arg. I.1 Argument from infinity]

(29) So, Plato, who was the greatest philosopher among the Greeks – for one must start with Plato – teaches straightforwardly that there is a beginning of the world, once there is also a beginning of the soul prior to it, even though his successors disagree with this, being misled by the doctrines of the Peripatetics. It is no wonder that, once Plato had said so, some Greeks [i.e., pagan phi-

[42] for us] We take ἡμῖν here as a *dativus ethicus* and καί as meaning "also". The meaning seams to be that the necessity of the resurrection flows not only from the testimony of the Scriptures but also from "the nature of the things", which can be the subject of a purely philosophical inquiry. Although grammatically it would be possible to construct ἡμῖν καὶ τῇ τῶν πραγμάτων φύσει ἑπόμενον as a parallel structure: "consistent with us and with the nature of the things", this would not give any philosophically meaningful sense.

losophers] thought that the world is not eternal, given that even Aristotle, who proposes in his teachings many strong arguments about the world and its so-called eternity – having made up his mind to refute his teacher, I do not know why, just as he did in other matters – implies by his own words and demonstrations that the world is not eternal. In fact, in the eighth book of the *Physics* he appears to reason about the cause of the world in the following way: given that it moves the universe in an unmoved way, and that it has done so for an already infinite time, it is, therefore, incorporeal and indivisible. For if it were a body, given that a body is either finite or infinite, then, since it is not infinite, it would be finite, and would have finite power. So, it [i. e., the world] will not be an eternal body, given that it possesses no eternal power. For if the substance of a finite power were infinite, then its substance would be in vain, and it would not aim at a purpose. But this is false, opposed to the beliefs of all. Thus, the world is not eternal.

[Arg. I.2 Refutation of the paradigm argument]

(45) However, they say that the model of the world is a stable and permanent thing, and its being is precisely in its being a model.[43] Consequently, its image, which is looking at the model, will also exist eternally and will be of unchanging nature. Now, it is possible to judge by a number of arguments that this reasoning is not necessary. For it is not true that, if the first is eternal, then, necessarily, the subsequent is also eternal. For just as the cause of our coming to be does not decay each time that we come to be and decay, but exists forever even though we are not eternal, so also the same holds true for this universe. In fact, in the case of the things in becoming and decay, there is always a first eternal principle, from which they have received the fact that they are becoming and that they exist in any way.

[Arg. I.3 Creation through a divine act of will permits the corruptibility of the world]

(54) [And when they say that] if the universe is corruptible, then the cause of the world is diminished in dignity, let them tell us whether the cause creates by an act of will or by nature. If it creates only by an act of will, then its nature is not

[43] its being is precisely in its being a model] Codex B has a different version, which is difficult to interpret but perhaps stands for: “and its being a model consists in this”. Tsereteli’s emendation *ad locum* also has the same meaning.

such that it is eternally creating. If it creates by nature, too, then, so also the next one and so on, and the regress will stop at something eternal, after which there is no [other] eternal [entity].

[Arg. I.4 The materiality of the world entails its corruptibility]

(58) However, they say that whatever is eternal is so with respect to its form. To this I would respond that the world is therefore not eternal, since it is decaying, not due to the weakness of its maker, but due to its own [weakness]. In fact, the *Oracles* say that matter is begotten by the Father[44] and is something subject to change and in flux, and is, as it seemed to some, the first evil and poverty and real privation, yet the Father is not decaying together with it, even though it is subject to decay and is never really being. And since the form of the universe is in it [i. e., matter], while it is always decaying and, as has been said, is moving in all sorts of ways, how would it not be senseless to consider matter corruptible, while the world, which is in it, remains? For the form of the universe is neither immaterial, nor is it self-constituted, nor is it the model of something else but, since it exists in another [i. e., in matter] and is in continuous need of it, it would be corruptible and in flux. In fact, if – while matter always changes – the form in it were to be such by nature that it would remain, then the same thing [i. e., the form] would be at once enmattered and immaterial, corruptible as well as incorruptible, and then matter and volume, quality and quantity would be in vain, as well as all those that we call affections of enmattered forms and of bodies.

[Arg. I.5 Refuting the theory of two types of matter]

(71) However, they say that [matter] is on the one hand corruptible and ever-changing while, on the other hand, incorruptible and pure. But this is not reasonable. For if there are two [kinds of matter], it is clear that they differ from each other, and this, either through a common difference, or through a proper

[44] begotten by the Father] The *Chaldean Oracles* speak of “light engendered by the Father” (πατρογενὲς φάος, frg. 49.1) and “the splendour of Hecate, engendered by the Father” (αὐγῆς πατρογενοῦς Ἑκάτης, frg. 35.2–3), see Oracula Chaldaica, 79 and 75. However, the sixth-century author John the Lydian supports Italos’ attribution in his Liber de mensibus, 175.8–9 (IV.159) where he says: ὅθεν ὁ Χαλδαῖος ἐν τοῖς λογίοις πατρογενῆ τὴν ὕλην ὀνομάζει. – For this reason, the Chaldean calls matter ‘generated by the Father’. – The connecting link might be Plutarch, who considered Hecate an allegory for matter. See also Italus, Quaestio 89, 135.19 and Psellus, Opuscula II 40, 151.9.

difference, or through a most proper difference.[45] If through a common difference, then [matter] will be sometime one and at another time two and in fact it would have some property, and this, accidentally. However, this is absurd. Alternatively, if they differ otherwise, and, more precisely, according to the properties of those that differ, then in what respect would it [i. e., matter] differ from the form, even though it is matter and completely formless? Therefore, the matter of the universe will be one, in flux and changeable, so that nothing that it has in itself is proper to it. For this reason, everything that is in it is also in flux and changeable, and so also is the world.

[Arg. I.6 Argument from the world being an individual existent]

(79) If someone assumes that decay pertains to individual beings but in no way to universal beings, then let him know that the form of the world, too, is particular and individual. Yet, everything that is such is in matter, and everything that is in matter is corruptible. For this reason, the world is [corruptible], too.

[Arg. I.7 Refuting the notion that there can be no other world after this one]

(82) Then they also say, using a disjunctive syllogism: If the world is destroyed, then either there will be something or there will not be. If there will be something, [then] it will either be this world or another one. If it will be this world, then its decay will be in vain. But if it will be another one, then it will either be superior to the former one, or inferior to it, or similar to it. However, it cannot be superior, because in that case it would have existed even earlier, nor can it be inferior, because in this case the Craftsman would prove unskilled, nor can it be similar, because then it would be in vain that the same world decays and comes into being again. Therefore the perceptible world is [both] eternal and incorruptible. To these arguments I have already responded that this way of arguing is not compelling.[46] Given that we say that it is from itself that matter has non-exis-

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[45] through a most proper difference] Here all earlier editors had given a mistaken text, misreading the expression ἰδιαίτατα διαφορᾷ, "by means of a most proper difference" for ἰδιαιτάτῃ διαφορᾷ, which is a non-existent expression. The distinction between "common", "proper" and "most proper" difference, generally used in late antique and Byzantine logic, comes from Porphyry, Isagoge, 8.7–8.

[46] compelling] Here the manuscripts do not place any punctuation mark, which would mean that the argument that is adduced here is the repetition of something said earlier. However, this does not seem to be the case. Rather, Italos might mean that this argument in favor of

tence, while it is from God that it is adorned with being and is brought to form, which is better [for it],[47] thus, it is evident that what is composed of matter and form, on the one hand, does not exist, because of the former [i. e., matter], but on the other hand, exists because of the latter [i. e., form]. Yet, that which both exists and does not exist is not eternal but corruptible, and so the Maker is not the cause of the corruption, nor did He repent, destroy it and create it anew; rather, what He creates according to His nature does not have the nature to persist in matter,[48] just as the eyes of bats do not have the nature to gaze at the sun. Thus, the world is from both non-being and being, and for this reason it is both being and non-being: being so that it will not be and non-being so that it will be.

[Arg. II.1 The world to come will be formally identical with the present world]

(97) However, one would ask the question how the world can be one in number. For it is not true that that which decays and comes to be again is [a single subject] which preserves its own change. Just as the movement that is interrupted and then comes to being again is not one and the same – for [in order to be the same] it must belong to the same [moving agent] and [should be moving] at the same [time] and, again, in the same manner, – so also that which has decayed[49] and comes to be again will not be the same. Thus, the world, once

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the eternity of the world falls under the refutation of section I.4. Here he adduces a different, though analogous, argument.

[47] form which is better for it] εἶδος βέλτιον: "the form, which is something higher", or "higher form" is Plotinos' expression. See Plotinus, II.4 [12], 3.4–5: οἷόν τι καὶ ψυχὴ πρὸς νοῦν καὶ λόγον πέφυκε μορφουμένη παρὰ τούτων καὶ εἰς εἶδος βέλτιον ἀγομένη· – Just as the soul is so that it is formed according to mind and reason by these same principles and is brought to form, which is better [for it]. – Our translation differs from that of A. H. Armstrong in the Loeb edition. It is noteworthy that Italos even follows the structure of the Plotinian sentence.

[48] does not have the nature to persist in matter] The expression is ambiguous. It may mean that what the Craftsman creates will remain but not in matter, or that it will not remain because it is in matter.

[49] that which has decayed] At this place the previous editors have misread the text, reading φθαρτόν "that which is corruptible" for φθαρέν "that which has decayed." Φθαρτόν would have been meaningless here, but the reading of all the manuscripts is unambiguous.

it has decayed, will not be one and the same, but will be more [than one]. However, it is one and the same, although not in number but in form. This, then, is the true one. For that which is one in number is said to be one according to its matter, and whatever is one according to matter is not one simply, but according to non-being; yet, whatever is something according to non-being will be called neither one nor being. Consequently, ‘one’ is that which is simply one according to its form; and so also this world. There are things that are one according to form but not simply. In fact, according to this [distinction], there are four ways in which Plato and Aristotle are one while both of them are identical to themselves.[50]

[Arg. II.2 This world will end and will be transformed]

(108) Since we have sufficiently argued concerning the world that it is not possible for it not to decay, since it is an enmattered and individual form, it is clear that it will come into being once again. For decay is not absolute, nor does it lead to absolute non-existence, but it is a certain natural change and transformation, which the world has acquired because of the transgression. So, it is necessary that the beings come into being and exist again, since the Cause is in constant movement and constantly moves and does not permit that anything may be either idle and infertile, or formless. However, this [i.e., the ceaseless change of generation and decay] will not go on infinitely, because the infinite does not exist. Since it is necessary that the world decays and comes into being yet does not exist and decay indefinitely – for it would exist in vain if it were perpetually coming into being and decaying again – therefore, it is clear that a time will come when it will endure permanently, having been set free from the previous evil that, as was stated, it suffered on account of us. And it is not necessary for us to come into existence again through birth [for this belongs to decay], but in another way, which we call resurrection. And so there will be a

[50] there are four ways … identical to themselves] Here we are translating an emended text. In most manuscripts one reads τέτρως, which can reasonably be interpreted as an abbreviation for τετραχῶς, “in a fourfold manner”, with an error of accent. In fact, errors in the accentuation are quite common in this text. *Jo* and *Ket* are following the version of B: ἑτέρως, which, however, does not match the meaning of the sentence. *Ket* notes that *Ts* emended τέτρως to τετραχῶς, which *Ts* has not done in his edition. In fact, *Ts* has omitted the sentence, writing (p. 52): “*post κόσμος omnibus in codd. haec verba sine dubio corrupta leguntur, quae expedire non possum:* τὸ γὰρ ἓν τῶι εἴδει οὐχ ἁπλῶς καὶ γὰρ ἑτέρως (τετρως MZ) κατὰ τοῦτο Πλάτων καὶ Ἀριστοτέλης ἕν καὶ ἅτερος αὐτὸς ἑαυτῶι.” Apparently, Italos applies here to the property of oneness Porphyry’s fourfold taxonomy of a property according to form. See Porphyrius, Isagoge, 12.13–22.

resurrection. And if so, then, there will also be a judgment for the way in which we conducted our lives, and a reward for our deeds.

[Epilogue to the emperor: concerning virtue and the orthodox faith]

(120) This is the day, then, O Emperor, for which one should prepare, and one should attend carefully to virtue and try to learn all things that befit the emperor. For the emperor, who closely resembles God, is a fire consuming evil, he is, in all his being, at once eye, ear and intellect; he preserves justice that is undefiled by extremes, courage that does not always stare dreadfully and inexorably, but also smiles from time to time, lest, being dreadful and implacable, he would be considered worthy to be hated and avoided. But he should also preserve temperance, which neither separates the soul from God nor severs it completely from the world, for the former is impious, while the latter is not pious in the case of emperors. He should also preserve prudence, which brings together all the virtue and truly commands the others, and both experiences and knows the beings, so that by experience he may be active and by knowledge he may be contemplative. Such a man is indeed perfect, such a man is an emperor, not only over others but also over himself. When he arranges well his own affairs in this way, he will become the cause of many good things to his subjects,[51] just as when water flows quietly from a spring and irrigates the entire surrounding vicinity, in which there are blooming trees, abundant fruit, meadows beautified with flowers, and dewy and watered fertile lands. In this spring [i.e., in such a man] emotion does not rise above reason, contending with it, nor does it back down, proving [the man] weak and abnormal; rather, it respects reason as the best charioteer and gladly practices what the latter judges right. Nor does desire perturb reason with improper pleasures, nor is there effemination, nor is there intemperance, which in various ways and instances torments the soul, but perseverance and self-control, which are opposed to these, and which elevate to a higher perfection, showing forth the One, Being and Good, [namely] the Father, of Whom there will be no other father, nor, again, a higher cause, for He is the Cause of everyone, male and female,[52] from Whom and

[51] Such a man is indeed perfect, … to his subjects] This and what follows is a paraphrase of and expansion upon Ps-Dionysius, Epistulae VIII.3, 182.6 – 183.10.

[52] male and female] It is difficult to identify the reference of πάντων … καὶ πασῶν. It may be a reference to the words of the Anaphora in the Liturgy of St John Chrysostom: καὶ ὧν ἕκαστος κατὰ διάνοιαν ἔχει καὶ πάντων και πασῶν. – The Eucharist is offered for all those whom those present have in mind, for men and women alike. – Here “male and female” alike may refer to all things, distributed according to real, or grammatical, or symbolic gender.

through Whom and towards Whom[53] are these, while the names neither mark off substances nor are they characteristics of natures; and again the Son, to Whom the three relate in like manner and hence do not interchange, as some have said;[54] and also the Spirit, Who is equally Creator and God, being both without generation and without unbegottenness.

(146) But if there is God and God and again God, then how is there nevertheless one God and one nature and one power? This [difficulty] does not necessarily follow. In fact, the many people are not different natures of people, but rather, the nature is a monad, while number belongs to the hypostases.

(149) However, if It [i. e., the Godhead] is simple, how is It a number? It is a number in relation to us, because this is how we can naturally understand and know It, but It is not subject to number, nor is It subordinate to nature, or to a plurality of names, or to anything else that is said concerning human beings. It is simple, but not in the proper sense, because this is also an attribute of those that have come to being by It. It is without beginning and eternal, yet has nothing like this in Itself. It is Light and Life, and again, It is not these, for these are from There.[55] Nor is He some [concrete] being, for the beings are from It and desire It. However, perhaps, It is One and the Good, and It is these by its very nature.[56] Also, it is a Monad in three Hypostases, to which belongs the Father, Who is without beginning, and is so absolutely, both in time and according to causality; and the Son, Who, together with the Father, is without beginning in time, but not in regard to causality; also, similarly, the Spirit, Who proceeds from the Father. And these are one and again three: the former as nature, while the latter according to hypostases; and again, the former according to substance, while the latter

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[53] towards Whom] The three attributes that equally relate to the Son are ἀφ' οὗ, δι' οὗ and πρὸς ὅν "from Whom", "through Whom" and "towards Whom". See Rom 11:36, 1Cor 8:6 and Col 1:16–17. Yet, Paul uses similar but different expressions, namely ἐξ αὐτοῦ καὶ δι' αὐτοῦ καὶ εἰς αὐτόν in Rom 11:36, ἐξ οὗ, δι' οὗ and εἰς ὅν in 1Cor 8:6 and δι' αὐτοῦ, εἰς αὐτόν and ἐν αὐτῷ in Col 1:16–17.

[54] as some have said] This whole paragraph is a synopsis of Gregory of Nazianzus' Oratio 39, Chapter 12. Italos closely follows here Gregory's description of the Trinity. That is why it is apparent that the transmitted text lacks one essential negation: instead of the unintelligible καὶ γὰρ μεταπίπτειν ἔφασαν the text should read καὶ γὰρ *μὴ* μεταπίπτειν ἔφασαν.

[55] from There] "There" (ἐκεῖ), "from There" (ἐκεῖθεν) are Plotinian expressions to denote the "realm" of the One.

[56] by its very nature] The Greek expression used here – πεφυσμένως – is a hapax, just like another hapax, πεφυμένως, in the 12th/13th-century author Nicholas of Otranto's *Disputation against the Jews:* see Νεκταρίου, ηγουμένου μονής Κασούλων (Νικολάου Υδρουντινού): "Διάλεξις κατά Ιουδαίων". Κριτική έκδοση, ed. M. Chronz. Athens 2009, 217.6. It is noteworthy that both Greek authors using these otherwise inexistent forms of the verb φύομαι are from Italy.

as persons,[57] so that we are ordering [these names] not without divine help and are correctly arranging them, [that is, we place] nature with substance and the rest with the rest, as they are both inclusive.[58] And the Son is Godhead and not Godhead, but God; nor is He any other one among the persons, but these are identical in the Godhead through the one nature, substance and will, equally. Therefore, these are also the Godhead. In fact, neither do we predicate, as the pagans do, the non-existent beings [i.e., the many gods], nor do we introduce a Tetrad of the Godhead. For the triad is the first number because it is not measured by another one, and is not composed of other numbers. This is why the Monad, having moved toward the Dyad, came to a halt at the Triad.

(166) This, O Emperor, is the sum of my discourse, this is the foundation of philosophy. Let this be your pastime and meditation; rule considering all this and rejoice, so that you may be well pleasing to God and may inherit the goods that cannot be taken away and are eternal.

III. Commentary on Italos' *Quaestiones quodlibetales*, treatise 71[59]

The section heading correctly indicates Italos' position, when it says that it will be shown "that the world is corruptible and that there will be a resurrection".[60]

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[57] And these are one … while the latter as persons] That is, the Father, the Son and the Spirit are one and three. The One is their common nature, while they are three in their hypostases; again, they are one according to their common substance, while the Three means that they are persons. Note the chiastic structure here, to which we will return in the commentary to this section

[58] both inclusive] Cf. Plotinus III.7 [45], 2.10. The meaning is that both "nature" and "essence" are inclusive and of the same things, that is, of the persons, just like in Plotinos the intelligible world and eternity "are both inclusive and of the same things".

[59] With regard to previous scholarship, Bezobrazov, Book review (as footnote 31 above) 128–131 surveys some of Italos' arguments, while P. É. Stephanou, Jean Italos: L'immortalité de l'âme et la resurrection. *ÉO* 32 (1933) 413–428, at 421–423 provides a close paraphrase of Italos' main points. Furthermore, Joannou, Die Illuminationslehre (as footnote 25 above) 63–65 and C.G. Niarchos, God, the world and man in the philosophy of John Italos. Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Oxford 1978, 270–282, 412–417 give a general, but at times flawed, overview of Italos' arguments in treatise 71, presumably because both were working from a text edition that does not always correspond to the manuscript tradition. See also, more recently, T.A. Shchukin, Эсхатология Иоанна Итала. *Vestnik russkoy khristianskoy gumanitarnoy akademii* 11/4 (2010) 116–120, who discusses some arguments of Quaestio 71 in greater detail.

[60] Line references of Quaestio 71 refer to our edition or translation. References to any other Quaestio are to Joannou's edition. – It is noteworthy that in other cases, section headings

The treatise begins with the advice to the emperor that he should be virtuous both through comprehension and habituation (ὧν αἳ μὲν λόγῳ, αἳ δὲ καὶ τῷ ἐθίζεσθαι, l. 10) and that he should, as a virtuous man, control his passions in order to achieve moral perfection.[61] As for the virtues themselves, Italos holds "that the precise sum of virtue is piety, and the sum of piety is that at the resurrection we will receive the recompense for our deeds" (ll. 19 – 21). Piety, as the highest virtue, presupposes the belief in the final resurrection. Italos goes on (ll. 23 – 27): "Claiming that the world is eternal, however, and supposing that our bodies will be shared with others too, constitutes an obstacle to such a demonstration. In fact, if the universe were eternal, and if our bodies were by their very nature always in generation, then the common talk about the resurrection would seem implausible." Without a temporal *eschaton*, the material of which our bodies consist would continue to reemerge in other bodies,[62] which would preclude any individualized corporeal resurrection and would thus negate Christianity itself. If there were to be no resurrection, there would also be no reward for our deeds, which is indispensable to any teleological appeal for a virtuous life along Christian maxims. Any utilitarian mind would immediately ask: 'Why should we behave as good Christians if there will be no recompense for our sacrifice?' In short, without the belief in the resurrection, which is denied by the eternalist viewpoint, a virtuous life would be counterintuitive.

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may be misleading, such as that of Quaestio 86, which claims that the treatise is about the resurrection of the coarse earthly body. While this question is not treated, the content indicates that the resurrection will be in a different body. For this reason, we think that the section headings are secondary and are from a later compilator, not Italos. On Quaestio 86, see footnote 107 below.

[61] Although both sets of virtues, namely contemplative as well as practical, are indispensable, Italos points out elsewhere that it is the former virtues that grant privileged access to divine knowledge. See Quaestio 81 (Περὶ ἀρετῶν), 132.5 – 28. See further Joannou, Die Illuminationslehre (as footnote 24 above) 33.

[62] This seems to refer to the food-chain (or cannibal) argument, which Porphyry promoted against the doctrine of the resurrection. See Porphyrius, Contra Christianos, 101 – 102 (frag. 93/2, frag. 94). Harnack is citing respectively the testimonies of Ps-Justin's *Quaestiones Gentiles ad Christianos* 15 (see S. Justini Opera 3/2, ed. Otto (as footnote 8 above) 320 – 322) and Makarios Magnes' *Apocriticus* IV.24 (see Μακαρίου Μαγνῆτος Ἀποκριτικὸς ἢ Μονογενής: Macarii Magnetis quae supersunt, ed. C. Blondel. Paris 1876, 204 – 205, and more recently Makarios Magnes: Apokritikos. Kritische Ausgabe mit deutscher Übersetzung, ed./transl. U. Volp. *Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur*, 169. Berlin 2013, 404 – 407). Frag. 94 can be found in translation in Porphyry's Against the Christians. The Literary Remains, ed./transl. R.J. Hoffmann. Amherst, NY 1994, 90 – 93. For the food-chain argument, see further R.M. Grant, Patristica. *VigChr* 3.4 (1949) 225 – 229, at 225 and Sorabji, Waiting for Philoponus (as footnote 9 above) 74 – 76.

It is worth recalling that "Eschatology is not just one particular section of the Christian theological system, but rather its basis and foundation, its guiding and inspiring principle, or, as it were, the climate of the whole Christian thinking. *Christianity is essentially eschatological* [...]"[63], as Georges Florovsky concisely put it. Italos concurs by saying that "we must first talk about the resurrection and try to demonstrate as much as possible, to those who listen attentively and with good-will, that it is necessary that all rise, [...] So we must first show that this world is not eternal [...]" (ll. 21–28). Only then can one competently deliberate about any particular virtue.

It is noteworthy that prior to addressing the issue of moral virtues Italos is explicit in setting out to do two precursory investigations: first, he intends to impugn the notion of an eternal world and second, he plans to "demonstrate" (ἐπιδεικνύναι) that there will be a resurrection. This argumentative strategy is a forceful approach, for it is not only apologetic but also affirmative by proposing a philosophical proof for the resurrection. At first, however, the idea of the eternity of the world needs a philosophical refutation, lest "the common talk about the resurrection would seem implausible" (ll. 26–27).

III.1 Refuting Aristotle: The argument from infinity (Arg. I.1)

Italos starts his apologetic investigation on the eternity of the world with a reference to Plato's *Timaeus*, whose factual interpretation he takes for granted; accordingly, the world was created by the Demiurge at the beginning of time, which entails an absolute beginning of creation.[64]

Italos' first argument is directed against Aristotle and is taken from Philoponos. It runs as follows: The first unmoved mover is indivisible and without a body, since no corporeal, that is, finite being could cause a motion that extends for an unlimited amount of time as Aristotle had shown at the outset of *Physics* VIII.10 (266a12–23). In addition, Aristotle had shown in *Physics* III.5 and *On the Heavens* I.5–7 that there can be no infinite bodies. Therefore, since the kosmos is a material body, it cannot, by its nature, be infinite but only finite. Finite bodies,

[63] G. Florovsky, Eschatology in the Patristic Age. *Greek Orthodox Theological Review* 2 (1956) 27–40, at 27.

[64] We avoid speaking about a "creation in time" or "temporal creation". Christian Platonists and, among them, Italos, held with Plato that time was created together with the world. Cf. Quaestio 69, 115.26–28. Accordingly, we can go back in time until the zero point but there is no time before creation. The idea that time is a vector, having a starting and an end-point, is essential to the Christian Platonist argument.

however, can hold only finite power.[65] Yet, only a being with infinite power can be eternal. As Philoponos puts it:

> ἀλλ’ ἐπεὶ οἶδεν ὁ Πλάτων, ὡς πᾶν σῶμα ὑπὸ πεπερασμένης διοικεῖται δυνάμεως καὶ οὐδὲν σῶμα δύναμιν ἄπειρον ἔχει (ὡς ὁ τοῦ Πλάτωνος μαθητὴς Ἀριστοτέλης πρὸς τῷ τέλει τοῦ ὀγδόου λόγου τῆς φυσικῆς ἀκροάσεως ἔδειξεν), πᾶν δὲ τὸ μὴ ἄπειρον ἔχον δύναμιν ἐξαρκεῖν εἰς τὸ διηνεκὲς ἀδύνατον καὶ διὰ τοῦτο καὶ τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ τὸν πάντα κόσμον σῶμα ὄντα καὶ πεπερασμένην ἔχοντα δύναμιν μὴ ἂν αὐτὸν ἑαυτῷ εἰς διαμονὴν ἀΐδιον ἐξαρκέσαι [...] (Philoponus, Contra Proclum, 235.4 – 12, Argument VI.29)
>
> Plato knows that every body is controlled by a finite power and that no body possesses an infinite power (as Plato’s pupil Aristotle shows towards the end of the eighth book on the *Physics*) and nothing that does not possess an infinite power can last in perpetuity, and for this reason both the heaven and the whole world, being body and possessing a finite power, would not on their own, [...], have the resources for an everlasting continuance [...] (transl. Share, Philoponus: Against Proclus 6 – 8, as footnote 72 below, 82)[66]

Italos, too, asserts (ll. 40 – 42) that since the kosmos is “not infinite, it would be finite, and would have finite power. So, it will not be an eternal body, given that it possesses no eternal power.” Italos’ argument closely follows Philoponos in drawing attention to the Aristotelian premise that infinite capacity or power is required for being infinitely extended in time.[67]

Philoponos fully developed this argument in two – now lost – works, which he wrote against the eternalist camp. The shorter of the two works was entitled *On the Contingency of the World*, fragments of which have survived in Simplikios’ *Commentary on Aristotle’s Physics*[68] and in an Arabic synopsis, which appears to

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[65] See Aristoteles, Physica VIII.10, 266a23 – 266b6.

[66] Cf. Philoponus, Contra Proclum, 1.18 – 2.3 (Argument I.2): εἰ οὖν κατὰ Πρόκλον τε καὶ Ἀριστοτέλην δύναμις ἄπειρος ὁ αἰών ἐστιν καὶ ἁπλῶς εἰπεῖν εἰ τὸ αἰώνιον πάντως καὶ ἀπειροδύναμον, ὅπερ ἄρα μὴ μετέχῃ δυνάμεως ἀπείρου, τοῦτο αἰῶνος οὐ μετέχει, ὅπερ δὲ οὐδὲ μετέχει αἰῶνος, τοῦτο αἰώνιον οὐκ ἔστιν. Translation in Philoponus: Against Proclus 1 – 5, transl. Share (as footnote 8 above) 20: So if, according to both Proclus and Aristotle, eternity is infinite power, and if, in a word, that which is eternal is in every case also infinitely powerful, then whatever does not partake of infinite power does not partake of eternity, and whatever does not even partake of eternity is not eternal.

[67] It is noteworthy that this very argument was also used by Symeon Seth, a contemporary of Italos, in his *Conspectus rerum naturalium* III.30, see Anecdota atheniensia et alia, 2. Textes grecs relatifs à l’histoire des sciences, ed. A. Delatte. Liége/Paris 1939, 17 – 89, at 37.

[68] Simplicii in Aristotelis Physicorum libros, Vol. 2, ed. Diels (as footnote 7 above) 1326.38 – 1336.34, esp. 1326.38 – 1329.19. Translation in Place, Void, and Eternity, transl. Furley/Wildberg (as footnote 7 above) 107 – 128, esp. 107 – 112 or alternatively On Aristotle’s ‘Physics 8.6 – 10’, transl. McKirahan (as footnote 11 above) 112 – 123, esp. 112 – 115.

present chapter summaries of the lost work.[69] In the latter, Philoponos is said to have argued that the world, by its very nature, cannot be everlasting for the world is a finite body, whose finitude precludes it from holding any infinite capacity (here translated as force). The Arabic testimony gives the following summary:

> ثم قال: واذا كانٍ العالم جسما متناهيا، كما برهن أرسطاطاليس وذلك فى المقالة الأولى من كتابه فى السماء، وكان كلّ جسم متناه فقواه متناهية كلّها، كما برهن ذلك أيضا أرسطاطاليس فى آخر المقالة الثامنة من كتاب سمع الكيان، فوجب أن يكون العالم ممّا قلنا وممّا أَقام أرسطاطاليس عليه البرهان، محدثا كان بعد أن لم يكن.
> (ed. Troupeau, Un épitomé arabe, as footnote 69 above, 79.20 – 22)
>
> Then he said: If the world is a finite body, as has been demonstrated by Aristotle in the first treatise of his book on the Heaven and (if) the forces of every finite body are finite, as has been likewise demonstrated by Aristotle at the end of the eighth treatise of the Book of Physics, (then) because of what we have, and of what Aristotle has demonstrated, the world must have been created in time (and) have come into existence after not having existed. (transl. Pines, An Arabic summary, as footnote 69 above, 323 – 324)

The other lost Philoponian work bore the title: *Against Aristotle: On the Eternity of the World*. Almost all of its altogether 134 fragments have been preserved by Simplikios.[70] Fragment 49 presents essentially the same argument that we encounter in Italos. Philoponos is quoted to have said:

> εἰ δὲ καὶ ἐν τῷ ὀγδόῳ, φησί, τῆς Φυσικῆς ἀκροάσεως αὐτὸς ἔδειξεν, ὅτι τὸ οὐράνιον σῶμα πεπερασμένον ἐστί, τὸ δὲ πεπερασμένον πεπερασμένην ἔχει δύναμιν, ἄπειρος δὲ ἡ κυκλοφορία, ἀνάγκη ἄρα αὐτὴν ὑπὸ ἀπειροδυνάμου αἰτίου δίδοσθαι· ἡ δὲ φύσις ἐν ὑποκειμένῳ οὖσα τῷ πεπερασμένῳ πεπερασμένη καὶ αὐτή ἐστιν· (ed. Heiberg, Simplicii In De caelo, as footnote 70 above, 79.2 – 6)
>
> And if <Aristotle> proved in the eighth book of the *Physics* that the heavens are a limited body, <and that> a limited body has limited capacity, and that circular movement is unlimited, then it is necessary that <the rotation> is provided by a cause of unlimited capacity.

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[69] The Arabic synopsis was identified and translated into English by S. Pines, An Arabic summary of a lost work of John Philoponus. *Israel Oriental Studies* 2 (1972) 320 – 352. For the edited text and a French translation, see G. Troupeau, Un épitomé arabe du 'Contingentia Mundi' de Jean Philopon, in E. Lucchesi/H. D. Saffrey (eds.), Mémorial André-Jean Festugière. Antiquité païenne et chrétienne. Geneva 1984, 77 – 88.

[70] Notably, in Simplikios' *Commentary On the Heavens*, see Simplicii in Aristotelis De caelo commentaria, ed. J. L. Heiberg. *Commentaria in Aristotelem Graeca*, 7. Berlin 1894 and in his *Commentary On the Physics*, see Simplicii in Aristotelis Physicorum libros, Vol. 2, ed. Diels (as footnote 8 above). For a collection and translation of the fragments, see Philoponus: Against Aristotle, on the eternity of the world, transl. Ch. Wildberg. *Ancient Commentators on Aristotle*. London 1987.

> However, the nature in a limited substrate is limited itself. (transl. Wildberg, Philoponus: Against Aristotle, as footnote 70 above, 66)

Italos adopts one of Philoponos' infinity arguments, which draws attention to the implicit contradiction between the Aristotelian notions of (1) heaven's limited capacity and (2) an everlasting kosmos.[71] He, thus, paraphrases Philoponos in arguing that a material kosmos cannot possess an infinite power, which would be necessary to sustain its existence eternally. It is on the basis of this reasoning that Italos accuses Aristotle of being inconsistent and asserts (ll. 36 – 37) that he "implies by his own words and demonstrations that the world is not eternal."

III.2 Refuting Proklos: The paradigm argument (Arg. I.2)

After Aristotle, Italos takes on Proklos and refutes his second argument in favor of the eternity of the world, the so-called paradigm argument.[72] Italos' recon-

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[71] On Philoponos' use of the infinity argument, see further R. Sorabji, Time, creation and the continuum. Theories in antiquity and the early Middle Ages. Ithaca, NY 1983, 210 – 224 and idem, Matter, space and motion: theories in Antiquity and their sequel. London 1988, 254 – 258. It is noteworthy that the infinity argument against Aristotle had already been elaborated by the unknown fifth-century author of the Ps-Justinianic *Refutation of some Aristotelian Teachings*. Ps-Justin – like John Philoponos after him – argued from the Aristotelian principle of the inexistence of an actual infinity to the intraversability of the infinite and, hence, to the impossibility of the world's existence from eternity but permitted its perpetuity in the future. See Ps-Justin's *Confutatio dogmatum quorumdam Aristotelis* in: S. Justini Philosophi et Martyris Opera, ed. J.C.T. Otto. *Corpus apologetarum Christianorum saeculi secundi*, 3/1. Jena 1846, 128 – 134 (Questions 17 – 22, 128d–131b) as well as Philoponus, Contra Proclum, 8.27 – 11.2 (Argument I.3) and 619.3 – 25 (Argument XVIII.3). For a useful overview of Ps-Justin's anti-Aristotelian arguments (including his infinity argument), see M. D. Boeri, Pseudo-Justin on Aristotelian cosmology: a Byzantine philosopher searching for a new picture of the world. *Byz* 79 (2009) 99 – 135, esp. 113 – 131. See also H. A. Davidson, The principle that a finite body can contain only finite fower, in S. Stein / R. Loewe (eds.), Studies in Jewish religious and intellectual history: presented to Alexander Altmann on the Occasion of his seventieth birthday. University, AL 1979, 75 – 92, esp. 79 – 82 and R. Sorabji, Infinity and the creation, in idem (ed.), Philoponus and the rejection of Aristotelian science. London 2010, 207 – 220, who both – erroneously – attribute the invention of the infinity argument to Philoponos.

[72] A first version of the paradigm argument had already been advanced by Porphyry, which Proklos summarizes in his *Commentary on the Timaeus*. See Procli In Timaeum, ed. Diehl (as footnote 3 above) 392.25 – 393.1. Translation in Proclus: Commentary on Plato's Timaeus, II, transl. Runia/Share (as footnote 3 above) 265 – 266. Philoponos confirms that Proklos took many of his arguments from Porphyry, see Philoponus, Contra Proclum 224.18 ff. Translation in Philopo-

struction of the argument runs as follows (ll. 45 – 47): "However, they say that the model of the world is a stable and permanent thing, and its being is precisely in its being a model. Consequently, its image, which is looking at the model, will also exist eternally and will be of unchanging nature."

Italos counters this argument with a simple analogy, for which he presupposes Philoponos' refutation that negates the presumption that the model (παράδειγμα) of the world is a relative entity that correlates with its effect, i.e., the world. Philoponos points out that forms are, categorically spoken, substances and not relatives (i.e., accidents). Thus, the paradigm and the world do not mutually depend on one another.[73] Having this reasoning in mind, Italos advances an analogous argument, where he asserts that the world – being a substance like any corporeal human being – is perishable. He writes: "For just as the cause of our coming to be does not decay each time that we come to be and decay, but exists forever even though we are not eternal,[74] so also the same holds true for this universe."[75] If we, mortal human individuals, pass away without our ultimate divine cause to pass away simultaneously as well then, likewise, it is possible that the world perishes – being an individual substance – without its divine Creator to decay along with it.[76] That is, the statement that the world will eventually perish does not imply the decay of its cause.

III.3 Creation through an act of the divine will involves the temporality of the world (Arg. I.3)

Italos realizes that Neoplatonist philosophers, such as Proklos, had taken the putative lack of atemporal correlation between the Creator and creation as a deficiency or weakness in the divine Demiurge, arguing that any kind of change in

nus: Against Proclus's 'On the eternity of the world 6 – 8', transl. M. Share. *Ancient Commentators on Aristotle*. London 2005, 76.

73 See Philoponus, Contra Proclum, 34.13 – 35.12. Translation in Philoponus: Against Proclus 1– 5, transl. Share (as footnote 8 above) 37– 38.

74 Cf. Philoponus, In Aristotelis De anima, 7.11– 19 (prooemium).

75 Quaestio 71, ll. 47– 49. See also, Quaestio 71, ll. 79 – 80.

76 An additional counter-argument, which Italos does not make explicit, rests on the notion that the Godhead holds the paradigms of all beings, as pointed out in Quaestio 5, 7.33 – 36 and Quaestio 68, 110.34 – 38. These paradigms include the paradigm of the world (Quaestio 68, 111.5). See further Joannou, Die Illuminationslehre (as footnote 24 above) 46 – 52, 61. That is, the paradigm of the world does not exist independently of its divine host and thus cannot be used as an independent cause in any argument.

the Creator would amount to an imperfection.[77] According to Proklos' eighteenth argument, the Demiurge has to be a divine and eternal being, which entails unchangeability. If He is never changing, then, either He creates eternally, or He never creates. As the latter is impossible, his creative act as well as its result has to be eternal.[78] Consequently, a temporal world would entail an imperfect Creator and we would fall back to the Gnostic idea of an imperfect Creator and an evil world (this is not expressed but is implied in Proklos' argument). Italos' objection to this line of argument is traditional. Instead of arguing from the nature of the Demiurge as Proklos had done, he argues from the nature of the world. Accordingly, if the world is perishable, then there are two possibilities: (I.3a) either the Creator acts according to divine will and, therefore, does not need to be co-eternal with the world or (I.3b) according to the Neoplatonist argument, He creates also by His very nature (thus postulating the identity between nature and will). Italos reasons as follows:

> εἰ δὲ καὶ φύσει, καὶ τὸ μετ' ἐκεῖνο ἄρα, καὶ ἔτι τὸ μετὰ τοῦτο, καὶ στήσεται ἡ κάθοδος μέχρι τινὸς ἀϊδίου, μεθ' ὃ οὐκ ἔστιν ἀΐδιον. (Quaestio 71, ll. 56 – 57)
>
> If it creates by nature, too, then, so also the next one and so on, and the regress will stop at something eternal, after which there is no [other] eternal [entity].

Here (I.3b) Italos succinctly argues that if a cause created a perishable world by its intrinsic nature, then this would be only viable by postulating a leap between an eternal cause and a non-eternal effect somewhere along a finite causal chain (since an infinite regress is absurd). But how can a perfect Creator make by His very nature a perishable world? Italos might draw again on Philoponos, who in his refutation of Proklos' third argument objected to the notion that a perfect Demiurge has to be a perpetually actual cause, which brings about the world

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[77] See Philoponus, Contra Proclum, 42.14 – 15 (Argument III): εἰ δὴ μὴ κατ' ἐνέργειαν, δυνάμει ἔσται δημιουργικὸν πρὸ τοῦ δημιουργεῖν ὄν. Translation in Philoponus: Against Proclus 1 – 5, transl. Share (as footnote 8 above) 42: And if it [i. e., the Demiurge] is not actual, it will be potential, being capable of creating before it creates.

[78] See Philoponus, Contra Proclum, 605.17 – 21 (Argument XVIII): ἀλλὰ μὴν τὸ μηδέποτε ποιεῖν δημιουργὸν ὄντα τὸν δημιουργὸν ἀμήχανον· οὐ γὰρ δημιουργῷ τὸ ἀργεῖν ἀεὶ προσήκει· πότε γὰρ ἂν εἴη δημιουργὸς μηδέποτέ τι ποιῶν; ἀνάγκη ἄρα ποιεῖν τὸν δημιουργὸν καὶ αὐτὸ τοῦτο δημιουργεῖν ἀεί. Translation in Philoponus: Against Proclus's 'On the Eternity of the World 12 – 18', transl. J. Wilberding. *Ancient Commentators on Aristotle*. London 2006, 93, corrected: But surely it is not feasible for the creator, being a *creator*, never to make. For it does not befit a creator always to be idle. For when would He be a creator if He never made anything? Therefore, it is necessary that the creator always be making and to create eternally the same thing.

without intermissions or delays. In his refutation, Philoponos draws attention to the Aristotelian distinction between first and second actuality. Accordingly, the Demiurge has an intrinsic capacity (or first actuality) that allows Him to create. The actualization of this capacity (or second actuality) does not necessarily require any outside cause and thus does not entail any causal dependency, which would contradict divine perfection. Consequently, the Demiurge can be actually Creator according to the first actuality of the creative power, even if, in His pre-temporal eternity, He is not producing an effect.[79] Based on this counterargument, Italos could have agreed with Proklos that the Demiurge is by His nature an actual Creator (first actuality) without the need to concede that He has to produce an effect (second actuality). Therefore, the generability and corruptibility of the world does not, in any manner, affect or even upset the dignity or rank (ἀξία) of the Creator.

Alternatively, instead of being created by the divine nature, a generable and corruptible world could have been brought forth by an act of divine volition (I.3a). The notion of a divine free will had been philosophically argued by Philoponos, most notably in his refutation of Proklos' sixteenth argument. The Athenian *diadochos* had argued that the double will of the Demiurge to remove the original chaos and to maintain the ordered kosmos must be eternal to avoid the subjection of the Creator to time and that, as a consequence, the world must be perpetually existent, too.[80] Philoponos was quick to point out that one can and needs to distinguish between the divine arbitration that a thing should exist eternally and the divine arbitration which eternally wills that a thing should exist. Simply put, "God causes all things to exist by willing alone, nevertheless, He also wills *when* they exist."[81] Definitively, this refers to the individual temporally existing things – Philoponos is careful to avoid speaking about the souls, which his opponents believe to be eternally existent; instead, he adduces as example the composite beings in whom a soul is bound to a body – but claims that the material world does not qualitatively differ from its parts. Consequently, God's will is eternal, while the changeability resides

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[79] Philoponus, Contra Proclum, 46.3–49.8. Translation in Philoponus: Against Proclus 1–5, transl. Share (as footnote 8 above) 44–46.

[80] Philoponus, Contra Proclum, 560.1–563.9. Translation in Philoponus: Against Proclus 12–18, transl. Wilberding (as footnote 78 above) 66–68.

[81] Philoponus: Against Proclus 12–18, transl. Wilberding (as footnote 78 above) 70 (= Philoponus, Contra Proclum, 566.6–8: εἰ γὰρ καὶ μόνῳ τῷ βούλεσθαι ὑφίστησιν ὁ θεὸς ἅπαντα, ἀλλ' ὅτε καὶ εἶναι αὐτὰ βούλεται·) For this type of argument, see further H. A. Davidson, Proofs for eternity, creation and existence of God in medieval Islamic and Jewish philosophy. Oxford 1987, 51–61, 68–76, esp. 69–70.

in the nature of the things created.[82] Thus, the world as well as its parts exists in time, while God and His will remain eternal.[83]

III.4 The materiality of the world entails its corruptibility (Arg. I.4)

The next argument deserves particular attention as it invites misinterpretation. Italos addresses the eternalist argument that asserts that the world is everlasting because its form is eternal. This argument rests on two Aristotelian principles. First, forms do not decay, nor do they come into being.[84] Second, the world, just like any sensible object, is a composite of form and matter.[85] Thus, the eternalists argue that the never-decaying form of the world guarantees the everlasting existence of this world. Italos refutes this argument by drawing attention to yet another Aristotelian principle, which holds – as well expressed by Sir David Ross – that "[f]orm is eternal only by virtue of the never-failing succession of its embodiments."[86] Put differently, forms cannot exist independently of matter. Accordingly, when a material object decays, the form inherent in it decays, too. Italos puts it as follows:

> οὐ γὰρ ἄϋλον τὸ τοῦ παντὸς εἶδος, οὐδέ γε αὐθυπόστατον οὐδὲ παράδειγμα ἑτέρου, ἀλλ' ἐν ἄλλῳ μὲν ὂν καὶ τούτου ὁσημέραι δεόμενον, φθαρτὸν ἂν εἴη καὶ ῥευστόν. (Quaestio 71, ll. 65–67)
>
> For the form of the universe is neither immaterial, nor is it self-constituted, nor is it the model of something else but, since it exists in another [i. e., in matter] and is in continuous need of it, it would be corruptible and in flux.

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[82] See Philoponus, Contra Proclum, 566.17–568.5. Translation in Philoponus: Against Proclus 12–18, transl. Wilberding (as footnote 78 above) 70–71, where Philoponos argues from the existence of evil to a gap between God's will and the existence of the beings. Contrafactually: if, from the eternally self-identical divine will, there were to follow the immediate and unchangeable existence of the created beings, there would be no place for evil, as God wills all beings to participate in the good. Therefore, if God's will is the good, evil comes from external causes and – God's foresight including the modalities of evil – God brings to existence each and every being when and as it can share most in the good. See also Philoponus, Contra Proclum, 79.16–81.28. Translation in Philoponus: Against Proclus 1–5, transl. Share (as footnote 8 above) 64–65.

[83] Italos returns to this line of Philoponos' argument in a later section (I.6.).

[84] See, for instance, Aristoteles, Metaphysica VII.8, 1033b5–7 and VIII.3, 1043b16–18.

[85] Ibid., VII.3, 1029a2–5.

[86] D. Ross, Aristotle. Sixth edition. London 1995, 181.

In saying this, Italos, again, follows closely Philoponos, who upheld the Aristotelian doctrine of hylomorphism and drew the conclusion that one cannot deduce from the dependency of forms to inhere in matter the proposition that enmattered forms (ἔνυλα εἴδη) are everlasting. Quoting Philoponos:

> εἰ δ' ὅλως καὶ δεῖταί τινος ἡ ὕλη, ἵνα γένηται, εἴδους πάντως δεήσεται· ὥσπερ γὰρ τὸ ἔνυλον εἶδος ἄνευ ὕλης εἶναι οὐ δύναται, οὕτως οὐδὲ ἡ ὕλη, καθὸ ὕλη ἐστίν, ἄνευ εἴδους εἶναι οὐ δύναται διὰ τὸ πρὸς ἄλληλα εἶναι τὴν ὕλην καὶ τὸ εἶδος, [...] τὸ ἕτερον οὖν τοῦ ἑτέρου δεήσεται καὶ οὐκ αὐτὸ αὑτοῦ ἢ τοῦ ὁμοίου. ὡς οὖν τὸ λέγειν τὰ εἴδη δεῖσθαι ὕλης, ἵνα γένηται, οὐκ εἰσάγει τὰ ἔνυλα εἴδη ἀΐδια (ἀρχὴν γὰρ τοῦ εἶναι καὶ τέλος ἔχοντα ἐναργῶς ὁρᾶται), οὕτως οὐδὲ τὸ δεῖσθαι τῶν εἰδῶν τὴν ὕλην, εἴπερ γίνοιτο, ἀΐδιον εἶναι αὐτὴν εἰσάγει· (Philoponus, Contra Proclum, 451.7 – 12, 451.23 – 452.1, Argument XI.10)

> If matter does need anything at all in order to come to be, it will certainly be form it has need of. For just as the enmattered form cannot exist without matter, in the same way neither can matter, *qua* matter, exist without form, because matter and form are relative to one another, [...]. So each will need the other and not itself or its like. So, just as to say that forms need matter in order to come to be does not imply that enmattered forms are everlasting (they are in fact clearly seen to have a beginning and an end to their existence), neither does the fact that matter needs forms if it is to exist imply that it is everlasting. (transl. Share, Philoponus: Against Proclus 9 – 11, as footnote 100 below, 95 – 96)

Italos thinks along similar lines. The mutual dependency between the form of the kosmos and the matter of the kosmos renders any appeal to the properties of forms futile. For although it is true that Aristotle taught that forms are ungenerated and eternal, yet these properties cannot guarantee the eternity of the universe, because the forms together with their properties depend on the matter in which they inhere.[87] When material objects decay, their enmattered forms perish along with them. As the kosmos is a material entity, it is subject to change and decay.

Italos sees matter in clear Plotinian terms: matter is constantly changing, it is unstable; moreover, it is privation and non-being. In Quaestio 92 Italos discusses the nature of matter and concludes that it does not belong among beings.[88] He confirms this position throughout Quaestio 71 as well as in Quaestio 86.[89] Matter is non-being and, thus, has no intrinsic capacity to exist or to bestow

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[87] On the remaining issue of how Aristotle thought that forms come to be even though they are strictly speaking ungenerated, see the insightful article by Ch. Shields, The generation of form in Aristotle. *History of Philosophy Quarterly* 7/4 (1990) 367 – 390.

[88] Quaestio 92, 145.18 – 20, 149.3. Cf. Quaestio 91, 144.12 – 13.

[89] Quaestio 71, l. 62, l. 95, l. 104. Cf. S. Mariev, Neoplatonic philosophy in Byzantium, in idem (ed.), Byzantine perspectives on Neoplatonism. *BA. Series Philosophica*, 1. Boston/Berlin 2017, 1–29, at 11. See also Quaestio 86, 134 – 135.

existence upon other entities, such as forms. In fact, matter, being a merely potential being, is in constant need of actualization.[90] That is to say, Italos rejects the presupposition – implicit in the eternalist argument – that matter is a self-constituted, eternal being.[91] As a result, Italos feels justified in pronouncing that the world "is decaying, not due to the weakness of its maker, but due to its own [weakness]."[92] The weakness of the world lies in its material nature.

This is Italos' refutation. On it depends not only the correct reading of the first two sentences of this section, but also our understanding of Italos' orthodoxy concerning the question of the eternity versus creation of the world. Much depends on the punctuation and the diacritical marks of the argument's first two sentences. We propose the following reading for Quaestio 71, ll. 58 – 59:

> Ἀλλὰ πάντα τῷ εἴδει φασὶν εἶναι ἀΐδια. οὔκουν καὶ ὁ κόσμος ἐρῶ, ἐπεὶ οὐ παρὰ τὴν ἀσθένειαν τοῦ ποιοῦντος, παρὰ δὲ τὴν οἰκείαν ἐστὶ φθειρόμενον.

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[90] It seems that Italos credits the Godhead with functioning as this actualizing cause. See Quaestio 71, ll. 89 – 90: ἐπεὶ τὴν μὲν ὕλην παρ' ἑαυτῆς ἔχειν τὸ μὴ εἶναί φαμεν, παρὰ δὲ θεοῦ τὸ εἶναι κοσμουμένην τε καὶ εἰς εἶδος ἀγομένην βέλτιον, [...] – Given that we say that it is from itself that matter has non-existence, while it is from God that it is adorned with being and is brought to form, which is better [for it ...].

[91] For Italos' doctrine on matter, see further Niarchos, God, the world and man (as footnote 59 above) 185 – 214 and Joannou, Die Illuminationslehre (as footnote 24 above) 68 – 78. We disagree with the reading proposed by M. Marchetto, Nikephoros Chumnos' treatise On Matter, in S. Mariev/W.-M. Stock (eds.), Aesthetics and Theurgy in Byzantium. *BA*, 25. Boston/Berlin 2013, 31 – 55, at 52 – 55 and M. Trizio, A late antique debate on matter-evil revisited in 11th-century Byzantium: John Italos and his Quaestio 92, in P. d'Hoine/G. Van Riel (eds.), Fate, providence and moral responsibility in ancient, medieval and early modern thought. Studies in honour of Carlos Steel. *Ancient and Medieval Philosophy, Series 1*, 49. Leuven 2014, 383 – 394; likewise M. Trizio, Eleventh- to twelfth-century Byzantium, in S. Gersh (ed.), Interpreting Proclus from Antiquity to the Renaissance. Cambridge 2014, 182 – 215, at 188, who argue that Italos did not advance his own understanding of matter in Quaestio 92 but merely refuted every attempt at defining it. Italos' purpose in Quaestio 92 is to refute that matter is an eternal substrate. In so doing, he adopts a number of Plotinian notions, e. g., that matter is evil, see Quaestio 92, 146.4 – 5. In fact, it seems that, on the one hand, Christian Platonist authors, such as Marius Victorinus, Pseudo-Dionysios and Italos, were fond of the Plotinian equation matter = non-being = evil, which permitted a Platonist interpretation of the dogma of *creatio ex nihilo* and also a theodicy denying that God could be the cause of evil, a doctrine closely related to the idea of the universal restoration (apokatastasis). On the other hand, Neoplatonists who followed Proklos rejected the Plotinian concept. We intend to treat this question in a future publication.

[92] Quaestio 71, ll. 58 – 59. Italos agrees with Philoponos as well as with Proklos that the decay of the world could not be attributed to the divine Creator but can only be due to the world's own intrinsic inability to persist eternally. This is apparent, for instance, in Philoponos' quotation of Proklos ninth argument, which begins with the statement: πᾶν τὸ φειρόμενον φθείρεται ὑπὸ τῆς ἑαυτοῦ κακίας. Philoponus, Contra Proclum, 313.7 – 8.

> However, they say that whatever is eternal is so with respect to its form. To this I would respond that the world is therefore not eternal, since it is decaying, not due to the weakness of its maker, but due to its own [weakness].

In contrast to our reading, all the manuscripts and, following them, the editions of Joannou and Ketschakmadze hold:

> Ἀλλὰ πάντα τῷ εἴδει φασὶν εἶναι ἀΐδια· **οὐκοῦν καὶ ὁ κόσμος· ἐρῶ**, ἐπεὶ οὐ παρὰ τὴν ἀσθένειαν τοῦ ποιοῦντος, παρὰ δὲ τὴν οἰκείαν ἐστὶ φθειρόμενος.[93]

> However, they say that whatever is eternal is so in respect to its form, therefore also the world. To this I would respond as [the world] is decaying not due to the weakness of its maker, but due to its own.

This reading makes no grammatical sense. That is why we felt compelled to correct the οὐκοῦν to οὔκουν and to change the punctuation. These changes are supported by Italos' overall argument as presented above, namely that the form of the world cannot guarantee the world's imperishability since its very materiality necessitates that the world will perish.

It is important to note that the actual punctuation in all eight manuscripts gives yet another meaning: οὐκοῦν καὶ ὁ κόσμος ἐρῶ – therefore, I say, also the world [is eternal]. If we read the sentence like this, the passage would assert, not deny, that the world is eternal due to its form. The synodal condemnations of 1082, which are contained in the *Synodikon of Orthodoxy*, attribute to Italos the teaching that forms and matter are without beginning and, thus, co-eternal with God. The fourth anathema reads as follows:

> Τοῖς τὴν ὕλην ἄναρχον καὶ τὰς ἰδέας ἢ συνάναρχον τῷ δημιουργῷ πάντων καὶ Θεῷ δογματίζουσι, καὶ ὅτιπερ οὐρανὸς καὶ γῆ καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ τῶν κτισμάτων ἀΐδιά τε εἰσὶ καὶ ἄναρχα καὶ διαμένουσιν ἀναλλοίωτα, καὶ ἀντινομοθετοῦσι τῷ εἰπόντι· ὁ οὐρανὸς καὶ ἡ γῆ παρελεύσονται, οἱ δὲ λόγοι μου οὐ μὴ παρέλθωσι, καὶ ἀπὸ γῆς κενοφωνοῦσι καὶ τὴν θείαν ἀρὰν ἐπὶ τὰς ἑαυτῶν ἄγουσι κεφαλάς, ἀνάθεμα. (Gouillard, Le Synodikon, as footnote 28 above, 59.198 – 202)

> To those who teach that matter and the ideas are either without a beginning or that they are without beginning equally with God, the Maker of the universe, and also that heaven and earth and the other creatures are eternal, without a beginning and will remain without change and who set a law against the one who said: "Heaven and earth will pass away but

[93] Joannou, Quaestiones quodlibetales (as footnote 26 above) 122.16 – 17 and Ketschakmadze, Itali Opera (as footnote 18 above) 194.15 – 17 follow here the reading by Tsereteli, Itali opuscula selecta, 2 (as footnote 30 above) 50.5 – 8, which differs only with regard to the punctuation: [...] οὐκοῦν καὶ ὁ κόσμος, ἐρῶ, [...].

> my words will never pass away" [Mt 24:35], and to those who hold down-to-earth vain speeches and draw the divine curse upon their heads – anathema![94]

This accusation comes close to the position that Italos explicitly rejects, namely that the hylomorphic composition of the world guarantees its eternity. As we have seen, Italos denies the eternity of matter; but does he also deny the eternity of form? In a later section of Quaestio 71 (Arg. II.1), Italos upholds the eternity of the forms when discussing the *formal* identity between this enmattered world and the post-apocalyptic world, in which all bodies will be resurrected (an issue that will be discussed below). That being said, there seems to be no strict correspondence between Italos' teaching and the fourth anathema: while Italos' position upholds the post-eternity of forms, the *Synodikon* condemns the pre-eternity of forms. In fact, this anathema seems to be specifically directed against the Platonic theory of a tripartite creation, in which the Demiurge modelled the world out of pre-existent matter and form. This creation myth contradicts the Christian notion of *creatio ex nihilo*, which is explicitly vindicated in two other anathemas.[95] Italos' repeated emphasis on the transitory nature of matter makes it clear that he did not subscribe to this Platonic theory. Moreover, as he pointed out at the outset of Quaestio 71, he reads the *Timaeus* as a factual (i.e., creationist) account.[96]

Therefore, Italos professed the dogma that the world was created at the beginning of time and, at the same time, taught the post-eternity of forms. The latter might indirectly be condemned in the fourth anathema given the Aristotelian principle that whatever is imperishable is also ungenerated.[97] That is, imperishable forms are also "without beginning" (ἄναρχος). Yet, the *Synodikon* is not explicit here and its terminology does not correspond to that of Italos. Moreover, it is far from obvious whether the continuous existence of the form of the world (Arg. II.1) would constitute a heresy.

What is certain is that the reading given by the manuscript evidence suggests that Italos taught the world to be everlasting because its form is everlasting. This is a radical, Neoplatonic view, which Italos does not endorse either in Quaestio 71 or elsewhere. We are to assume that the manuscript evidence presents here a corrupt text, which might have been produced by the very knowledge that Italos had been condemned for teaching an everlasting world. Conversely, it is also

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94 Our translation differs from that of Clucas, Trial (as footnote 22 above) 143.

95 Notably in the eighth and tenth anathema; see Gouillard, Le Synodikon (as footnote 28 above) 59.222, 61.235.

96 Quaestio 71, l. 30.

97 Aristoteles, De caelo I.10, 279b24–280a3; I.12, 282a21–283b22.

possible that Italos' wording at this point confused his contemporaries and provided material for the charges brought up against him in the fourth anathema. We will return to the relationship between Quaesio 71 and the anathemas of the *Synodikon* below.

III.5 Refuting the theory of two types of matter (Arg. I.5)

The previous argument has shown that, according to Italos, it is corruptible matter which prevents the world from being eternal. However, according to Aristotle, not all matter is corruptible. He, as well as the author of the Pseudo-Aristotelian *On the World*, distinguished between two different kinds of matter: the sublunar matter, which consists of the four elements, and the extralunar or celestial matter, which Aristotle had called aether.[98] Based upon this distinction an eternalist would have argued that even if the sublunar matter was subject to corruption, the celestial matter would still be everlasting and therefore the kosmos, too, would be eternal. Italos' refutation rests on a basic Porphyrian distinction:

> εἰ γὰρ δύο, φανερὸν ὡς ἀλλήλων διαφέρουσι· καὶ ἢ κοινῶς ἢ ἰδίως ἢ ἰδιαίτατα διαφορᾷ. (Quaestio 71, ll. 72–73)
>
> For if there are two [kinds of matter], it is clear that they differ from each other, and this, either through a common difference, or through a proper difference, or through a most proper difference.

Any attempt to distinguish between corruptible and incorruptible matter has first to account for the logical criterion that allows for any such distinction to be made. How can two kinds of matter be logically distinguished from one another? According to Italos, such a distinction can only be established according to "common", "proper" and "most proper" differences, as set down by Porphyry in his *Introduction:* "On difference: One should speak about difference commonly, properly, and most properly."[99] *Common* difference is an accidental difference that can be either in the same subject, or in different subjects, such as being old or young, which can distinguish two different persons or one and the same

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[98] Aristoteles, De caelo I.2, 268b11–269b17. It is noteworthy that Italos characterizes this celestial matter as pure (ἀκήρατος), which is reminiscent of Ps-Aristoteles, De mundo, ed. W. L. Lorimer. Paris 1933, 52 (392a5–9): Οὐρανοῦ δὲ καὶ ἄστρων οὐσίαν μὲν αἰθέρα καλοῦμεν, [...], στοιχεῖον οὖσαν ἕτερον τῶν τεττάρων, ἀκήρατόν τε καὶ θεῖον.

[99] Porphyrius, Isagoge, 8.7–8: Περὶ διαφορᾶς. Διαφορὰ δὲ κοινῶς τε καὶ ἰδίως καὶ ἰδιαίτατα λεγέσθω. Translation in Porphyry: Introduction, transl. J. Barnes. *Clarendon Later Ancient Philosophers*. Oxford 2003, 8, slightly changed.

person; *proper* difference is one that distinguishes one thing from another by an inseparable but not essential quality, such as the white color of the seagull distinguishing it from the crow; finally, *most proper* difference (ἰδιαίτατα διαφορά) is the same as *differentia specifica* (εἰδοποιὸς διαφορά), a difference that makes a thing what it is, such as the difference of men from horses consisting in the gift of reason.

Italos' argument runs as follows: A common difference is an accidental property, which is separable from a thing's essence. Consequently, an accidental property could not account for the contradictory natures of the two types of matter, since it only accounts for random changes. If incorruptibility was an accidental property, then a given thing could become corruptible at any given moment. Alternatively to an accidental or separable difference, one might consider incorruptibility to be an inseparable difference, which belongs either "properly" to the particular thing or "most properly" to the nature of that thing. However, inseparable differences are by definition stable and unchanging, which are characteristics that cannot be attributed to matter. If incorruptibility was an inseparable difference then incorruptible matter would possess formal characteristics, such as being ungenerated and eternal. Formless matter, however, is devoid of such characteristics. For these reasons, matter cannot be subdivided into two kinds that hold contradictory properties. The point made here is that only formless matter could, in theory, be without change and decay. Italos' proof that a distinction between two kinds of matter is incompatible with the notion of formless matter appears to be a rare argument. Yet, apparently it goes back, once again, to Philoponos, who had argued that there is no formless matter nor any kind of incorruptible matter (i.e., aether).[100] Matter always exists in correlation to form and constitutes a compound, which, by definition, cannot be incorruptible.

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[100] Philoponos refutes the notion of formless matter in both his *Against Proklos* and *Against Aristotle*. See Philoponus, Contra Proclum, 405.1–445.18 (Argument XI.1–8), translation in Philoponus: Against Proclus's 'On the eternity of the world 9–11', transl. M. Share. *Ancient Commentators on Aristotle*. London 2010, 69–92. See also Simplicii In Aristotelis De caelo, ed. Heiberg (as footnote 70 above) 131.17–136.1. Translation in Philoponus: Against Aristotle, transl. Wildberg (as footnote 70 above) 83–86 (frag. 69–72). For an analysis of these fragments, see Ch. Wildberg, John Philoponus' Criticism of Aristotle's theory of aether. *Philologisch-Historische Studien zum Aristotelismus*, 16. Berlin 1988, 192–195. It is noteworthy that frag. 72 denies the possibility of aether on logical grounds, but Simplikios' testimony fails to make the possibly Porphyrian argument explicit. Quoting Philoponos, Simplikios states: ἀλλ' εἰ διαφέρει, φησίν, ἡ οὐρανία ὕλη τῆς ὑπὸ σελήνην, σύνθετοι ἔσονται αἱ ὕλαι ἔκ τε τῆς κοινῆς αὐτῶν φύσεως καὶ τῶν ἐν ταύτῃ διαφορῶν. Simplicii In Aristotelis De caelo, ed. Heiberg (as footnote 70 above) 135.21–23.

III.6 Refuting the notion that there can be no other world after this one (Arg. I.7)

Italos also refutes the classical eternalist argument that the world must be everlasting because no other world can come after it. This argument had already been presented by Philo of Alexandria in his treaty on the *Eternity of the World*[101] as well as in Zacharias of Mytilene's *Ammonius*.[102] The argument is straightforward. If there were a world following this one, then it would be either worse, similar, or better than the current one. It cannot be worse, nor better, for either case would imply a lack of divine efficiency or benevolence, which contradicts the attributes of the Creator. Nor could the world be similar, for this would entail redundancy, since there would be no need to recreate this world if the future world were to look like the present one. Italos' answer is equally straightforward. As he already mentioned before, the decay is not due to the agency of the Creator but due to the deficiency inherent in the material kosmos.

III.7 The world to come will be formally identical with the present world (Arg. II.1)

After having refuted all the above arguments, Italos shifts his focus from refuting the notion of an eternal world to supporting the doctrine of the resurrection. For this, he meets the challenge to identify the criterion that safeguards the identity of the present world with the future world. A future, post-apocalyptic world surely cannot be identical in number with this world, for Aristotle had defined identity in number with material identity[103] and since all matter will have perished (and arguably will have been created again, cf. Rv 21:5) there cannot be any material continuity. Italos answers this challenge by proposing to consider the formal identity as the criterion that assures the correspondence between the present and the future world. After all, true identity cannot be found in the ma-

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101 See Philo, De aeternitate mundi, 210 – 215 (§41 – 44).

102 Zacharias Scholasticus, Ammonius, 99.131 – 139. It should be noted that the argument can also be construed based on Proklean grounds (notably Argument I and VI) as shown by B. Bydén, A case for creationism: Christian cosmology in the 5th and 6th centuries, in B. Bydén/K. Ierodiakonou (eds.), The many faces of Byzantine philosophy. Athens 2012, 79 – 107 at 94 – 96.

103 Aristoteles, Metaphysica V.6, 1016b31 – 33: ἔτι δὲ τὰ μὲν κατ' ἀριθμόν ἐστιν ἕν, τὰ δὲ κατ' εἶδος, τὰ δὲ κατὰ γένος, τὰ δὲ κατ' ἀναλογίαν, ἀριθμῷ μὲν ὧν ἡ ὕλη μία, εἴδει δ' ὧν ὁ λόγος εἷς, […]

terial realm, which is characterized by persistent change and, thus, non-being. That is to say, the genuine identity of the present kosmos with the post-apocalyptic world will be guaranteed on formal grounds, which does not, in any way, preclude the prospect of a bodily resurrection. Italos does not specify how this formal continuity allows for the distribution of individualized rewards and punishments at the Last Judgment. Yet, one might understand this on the basis of the Aristotelian concept of the soul being the form of the living body,[104] so that the reward or punishment comes when the form (the soul) acquires a newly created living body.

Italos supports his argument with yet another reference to Porphyry's *Introduction*, from whom he takes the fourfold (τετραχῶς) taxonomy of a property according to form and applies it to the property of oneness.[105] Accordingly, individual beings (like Plato and Aristotle, or even the kosmos) can be said to possess the properties of oneness in four different manners. From among these four senses, Porphyry had argued, only the fourth one can be said to be a property in its proper sense, since such a property is connatural with the thing in question and is thus reversible.[106] Apparently, being "simply one according to its form [i.e., property]" (ll. 104–105) corresponds to this fourth category in Porphyry's fourfold division. This means that the simple or genuine oneness of a given thing is a substantial property, which is a connatural form that is independent of any matter. In this sense, the newly created world will not be one in number with our present world, yet, as it will have the same form/species, the genuine oneness of the two cannot be denied. It should be noted that this argument

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[104] Aristoteles, De anima II.1, 412a19–21, ed. R.D. Hicks, Cambridge 1907, 48.

[105] See Porphyrius, Isagoge, 12.12–22: Περὶ ἰδίου. Τὸ δὲ ἴδιον διαιροῦσι τετραχῶς· καὶ γὰρ ὃ μόνῳ τινὶ εἴδει συμβέβηκεν, εἰ καὶ μὴ παντί, ὡς ἀνθρώπῳ τὸ ἰατρεύειν ἢ τὸ γεωμετρεῖν· καὶ ὃ παντὶ συμβέβηκεν τῷ εἴδει, εἰ καὶ μὴ μόνῳ, ὡς τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ τὸ εἶναι δίποδι· καὶ ὃ μόνῳ καὶ παντὶ καὶ ποτέ, ὡς ἀνθρώπῳ παντὶ τὸ ἐν γήρᾳ πολιοῦσθαι. τέταρτον δέ, ἐφ' οὗ συνδεδράμηκεν τὸ μόνῳ καὶ παντὶ καὶ ἀεί, ὡς τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ τὸ γελαστικόν· κἂν γὰρ μὴ γελᾷ ἀεί, ἀλλὰ γελαστικὸν λέγεται οὐ τῷ ἀεὶ γελᾶν ἀλλὰ τῷ πεφυκέναι· τοῦτο δὲ ἀεὶ αὐτῷ σύμφυτον ὑπάρχει, ὡς καὶ τῷ ἵππῳ τὸ χρεμετιστικόν. ταῦτα δὲ καὶ κυρίως ἴδιά φασιν, ὅτι καὶ ἀντιστρέφει· εἰ γὰρ ἵππος, χρεμετιστικόν, καὶ εἰ χρεμετιστικόν, ἵππος. Translation in Barnes (as footnote 99 above) 11–12: Properties: They divide property into four: what is an accident of a certain species alone, even if not of it all (as doctoring or doing geometry of man); what is an accident of all the species, even if not of it alone (as being biped of man); what holds of it alone and of all of it and at some time (as going grey in old age of man); and fourthly, where 'alone and all and always' coincide (as laughing of man). For even if man does not always laugh, he is said to be laughing not in that he always laughs but in that he is of such a nature as to laugh – and this holds of him always, being connatural, like neighing of horses. And they say that these are properties in the strict sense, because they convert: if horse, neighing; and if neighing, horse.

[106] Reversibility here means that the property and the subject that holds it entail one another.

could be taken as establishing the eternity of the world on the basis of its form/ species but only at the prize of severe distortion. The world, according to Italos, is not eternal; merely its form has to persist to safeguard the continuity between the two worlds. Arguably, this form/model/species has no autonomous existence given the hylomorphic principle mentioned above. Instead, we can assume that Italos considered this form to be an original idea in the mind of God.[107]

III.8 Affirming that this world will end and will be transformed (Arg. II.2)

Italos sums up by saying that "we have sufficiently argued concerning the world that it is not possible for it not to decay, since it is an enmattered and individual form [...]" (ll. 108 – 109). He then goes on to present a positive proof for a temporally limited world by demonstrating that there will be a resurrection. He points out that the end of this world does not mean total annihilation but rather a transformation into a post-parousial world, which – as we have just seen – will be formally identical to the present kosmos.

Italos argues that the natural process of generation and corruption cannot go on infinitely, since "the infinite does not exist."[108] After all, Philoponos had shown that an infinite duration entails logical impossibilities such as the infinite being traversable and multiplicable.[109] Moreover, the kosmos would exist in vain if its transformations and changes would ceaselessly persist without a final *telos*. Similarly, the kosmos could not perish into absolute non-existence, for its existence would have been equally in vain. Therefore, there must be an end to the present world, after which the world will be transformed into a new state of existence that will not be characterized by generation and corruption.

So far Italos has been persistent in attributing the decay of the world not to an act of the divine will but to the intrinsic weakness of the world. Here, however, Italos does not refer to the material character of the world when upholding its corruptibility. Instead, he follows the orthodox tradition in referring to the original sin saying that it was Adam's Fall that corrupted the creation and made it perishable. This is an essential Christian axiom, which necessitates the arrival of a redeemer, who rectifies the fallen creation. That is to say, Italos

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107 See Quaestio 5, 7.1 – 8.15, where Italos adopts the Platonist notion that the divine mind contains the genera and species of all beings. See further footnote 54 above.

108 Quaestio 71, l. 113. Cf. Aristoteles, Physica III.5, 204a8 – 206a8 and Aristoteles, De caelo I.5 – 7, 271b1 – 276a17.

109 For references, see Davidson, Proofs for eternity (as footnote 81 above) 86 – 94.

combines in this treatise the philosophical view of matter's intrinsic weakness to exist eternally with the theological doctrine of the Fall. As he puts it (ll. 114–115): "therefore, it is clear that a time will come when it [i.e., the world] will endure permanently, having been set free from the previous evil that, as was stated, it suffered on account of us." There appears no contradiction between the two types of explanations, although one might wish to see how Italos brought them together in greater detail.

III.9 Developing the implications of a corruptible world (epilogue to the emperor)

After having refuted a number of eternalist arguments and having argued for the resurrection, Italos returns to the issue of virtues as he had promised to do at the outset of treatise 71. There he had laid down that the belief in the resurrection is a prerequisite to any talk about virtues. Knowing that the world is not eternal and knowing that there will be a resurrection is the fundamental know-how of any virtuous person, particularly so of the emperor, since he is "closely resembling God" (θεῷ παραπλήσιος, l. 122). Italos is emphatic in asserting that only on the basis of knowing that this world will come to an end can the emperor develop the cardinal virtues of justice (δικαιοσύνη), courage (ἀνδρεία), temperance (σωφροσύνη) and prudence (φρόνησις).[110] Only on the basis of this knowledge can emotions be tamed and moral perfection as well as orthodox piety achieved. In this section Italos employs classical ethical concepts referring not only to the cardinal virtues of the *Republic*[111] but also to the Chariot Allegory of the *Phaedrus*.[112] Moreover, he hints at and paraphrases passages of Pseudo-Makarios[113] and of Pseudo-Dionysios the Areopagite.[114]

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[110] For Italos' more elaborate treatment of these virtues, see Quaestio 63, 87–95 and Quaestio 81, 132. See further Niarchos, God, the world and man (as footnote 59 above) 381–388.

[111] Plato, Res Publica 427e–435e (Book IV, 6–11).

[112] Plato, Phaedrus 246a–254e.

As a result of proper moral conduct and custom, the virtuous person will come to understand the theological mysteries of the divine Trinity, namely the consubstantiality of the three hypostases, their inseparable unity, and their distinctive and non-interchangeable characteristics. It is noteworthy that when describing the relationship of the one divine nature to the three hypostases, Italos uses a chiasm:

> τὸ μὲν φύσις, τὰ δὲ ὑποστάσεσι· καὶ αὖθις, τὸ μὲν οὐσίᾳ, τὸ δὲ πρόσωπα [...] (Quaestio 71, ll. 158)
>
> the former as nature, while the latter according to hypostases; and again, the former according to substance, while the latter as persons, [...].

This chiastic structure, unrecognized by the earlier editors, seems to indicate – unless we dismiss it as a mere rhetorical device – that Italos made a subtle distinction between nature (φύσις) and substance (οὐσία), on the one hand, and hypostasis (ὑπόστασις) and person (πρόσωπον), on the other. According to this distinction, the Godhead is One because this is Its nature but, in fact, one can only say that It is One according to Its substance, as Its real nature is above substance, or being. Similarly, the three-ness in the Godhead indicates three persons (πρόσωπα: the word was misread by the earlier editors), but one can only say that the threefold division is according to hypostases.

In presenting what is essentially his confession of faith, Italos uses also the language of Gregory the Theologian and of John of Damascus ensuring the orthodoxy of his propositions. He makes it perfectly clear that any orthodox confession is directly dependent on the belief in a perishable world. The treatise closes with a dedication to the unnamed emperor, who has been instructed on two essential matters: (1) on what basis to be certain that the world will come to end and (2) on the wide-ranging implications of this knowledge, which ultimately results in a virtuous life and in a true understanding of the Christian doctrine of the Holy Trinity.

IV. Conclusion

To sum up, in his *Quaestiones quodlibetales*, treatise 71 Italos rejects the philosophical theory of an eternal world by refuting a number of eternalist arguments, including the Porphyrian-Proklean paradigm argument (Arg. I.2) and Proklos' third argument of a Demiurge whose creative power should be unchangeably actualized (Arg. I.3). Italos' philosophical argumentation is twofold: apologetic (Arg. I.1–I.7) and demonstrative (Arg. II.1–II.2). He borrows heavily and consis-

tently from Philoponos when addressing these eternalist arguments. In particular, he uses extensively Philoponos' works *Against Proklos* and *Against Aristotle*, despite the fact that he never refers to him explicitly. In this respect, Italos was, once more, a child of his age as Philoponian arguments appear to have been rediscovered in eleventh-century Byzantium.[115]

Italos presents his arguments in a greatly condensed manner. Their interpretation is further compounded by textual corruptions. One might pose the question whether Italos could have presupposed a good command of Philoponian thought in his audience or whether he merely intended to present a simplified discussion in his admonishment to the emperor. Since these options are not mutually exclusive, his condensed arguments might reflect an attempt to address more than one readership. After all, the overall argument of the treatise is fairly understandable even without grasping the whole weight of the specific arguments.

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[113] Quaestio 71, ll. 122 – 123: ὅλος ὀφθαλμὸς, καὶ οὖς ἅμα καὶ νοῦς, [...]: he is, in all his being, at once eye, ear and intellect; [...]. Cf. Ps-Macarius, Homiliae spirituales, 2.41 – 48 (homilia 1): οὕτω καὶ ψυχὴ ἡ καταλαμφθεῖσα τελείως ὑπὸ τοῦ ἀρρήτου κάλλους τῆς δόξης τοῦ φωτὸς τοῦ προσώπου Χριστοῦ καὶ κοινωνήσασα πνεύματι ἁγίῳ τελείως καὶ κατοικητήριον καὶ θρόνος θεοῦ καταξιωθεῖσα γενέσθαι, ὅλη ὀφθαλμὸς καὶ ὅλη φῶς καὶ ὅλη πρόσωπον καὶ ὅλη δόξα καὶ ὅλη πνεῦμα γίνεται, οὕτως αὐτὴν κατασκευάζοντος Χριστοῦ τοῦ φέροντος καὶ ἄγοντος καὶ βαστάζοντος καὶ φοροῦντος αὐτὴν καὶ οὕτως εὐτρεπίζοντος καὶ κατακοσμοῦντος κάλλει πνευματικῷ: So also the soul that is perfectly illuminated by the ineffable beauty of the light of the face of Christ, has entered perfect communion with the Holy Spirit, and has been deemed worthy to become a dwelling place and throne for God, becomes entirely eye, entirely light, entirely face, entirely glorification and entirely spirit, rendered such by Christ, who carries, leads, brings and moves her and who adorns and decorates her with spiritual beauty. Translation in Pseudo-Macarius. The fifty spiritual homilies and the Great Letter, transl. G. A. MALONEY. *Classics of Western Spirituality*, 75. New York 1992, 38, with changes.

[114] Quaestio 71, ll. 130 – 137. Cf. Ps-Dionysius, Epistulae VIII.3, 182.6 – 183.10.

[115] See Symeon Seth's *Conspectus rerum naturalium* III.30 (as footnote 67 above). The Byzantine reception of Philoponos remains largely unstudied, although his influence (with regard to Arg. I.1) has been recently noted by BYDÉN, A case for creationism (as footnote 102 above) 82 – 85 and IDEM, 'No prince of perfection': Byzantine anti-Aristotelianism from the patristic period to Pletho, in D. Angelov / M. Saxby (eds.), Power and subversion in Byzantium: Papers from the Forty-Third Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies, Birmingham, March 2010. *Publications of the Society for the Promotion of Byzantine Studies*, 17. Burlington, VT 2013, 147 – 176, at 168. Cf. SHCHUKIN, Matter as a universal (as footnote 12 above) 363. Thus, the statement by G. FOWDEN, Before and after Muḥammad: the first millennium refocused. Princeton/Oxford 2014, 135 that Philoponos was forgotten by Christians following his anathematization in 680/81 is an oversimplification. For Philoponos' reception in Jewish, Muslim and Scholastic philosophy, see SORABJI, Time, creation and the continuum (as footnote 71 above) 202 – 203, passim and DAVIDSON, Proofs for eternity (as footnote 81 above) 86 – 116.

Yet, a superficial reading of specific passages might easily have led to grave misunderstandings. As indicated above, the first lines of Arg. I.4 might have been corrupted in the light of Italos' condemnation.[116] Alternatively, this might have been misread already during Italos' trials provided, of course, that it had been composed beforehand. Such a misreading could have provided material to substantiate, for instance, the fourth anathema against Italos.[117] The question arises whether Italos wrote his treatise before or after his anathematization.

A synoptic reading of the condemnations and Quaestio 71 suggests that Italos was reacting to the anathemas. We have already pointed to resemblances between Italos' anti-eternalist exposition and the fourth anathema. Furthermore, the second anathema delineates a conflict between Christian piety and Neoplatonic doctrines.[118] In contrast, Italos mitigates any such clash by arguing that the cornerstone of Christian piety lies in the belief of the resurrection (ll. 19 – 21) and, as long as this belief is upheld, Neoplatonic doctrines can be discussed and used. The eighth anathema condemns the denial of a divine free will.[119] However, in Arg. I.3 Italos refers to the divine arbitrary will (Arg. I.3a) in order to refute the charge of attributing a deficiency to the Creator. Admittedly, the succinctness of Italos' argument does not allow for a detailed reconstruction of his views on divine volition. All that is certain is that Italos allowed for a divine arbitrary will in the course of his creationist argumentation. The ninth anathema emphasizes how essential the belief of the resurrection is to the Christian faith by explicitly referring to Paul (presumably to 1Cor 15).[120] Even though Italos does not refer to Paul, he concurs with him and the ninth anathema in stressing that the notion of the resurrection is the "sum of piety" (l. 20) and the basis of a virtuous, Christian life. Moreover, the third anathema condemns those who deny the Last Judgment

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116 Similarly, many manuscripts (namely mnop) read in Quaestio 71, l. 50: ἡμῶν *καὶ* ὄντων ἀϊδίων instead of ἡμῶν *μὴ* ὄντων ἀϊδίων. The omission of the negating μή inverts Italos' statement so that it appears as if he had indeed taught that all creatures are – in their *genera* – eternal, which is precisely what the fourth anathema had attributed to Italos. See GOUILLARD, Le Synodikon (as footnote 28 above) 59.198 – 202.

117 One might think that Italos could have expressed himself more carefully. Not having done so is indicative of his unfeigned and candid approach. It appears that Italos' anti-eternalist position reflects his genuine conviction and is not merely a cunning but dishonest apology of his orthodoxy. *Pace* N. SINIOSSOGLOU, Radical Platonism in Byzantium: illumination and utopia in Gemistos Plethon. *Cambridge classical studies*. Cambridge/New York 2011, 83, who argues that Italos was a crypto-pagan and a master at dissimulation.

118 GOUILLARD, Le Synodikon (as footnote 28 above) 57.190 – 192.

119 Ibid., 59.219 – 224, at 222.

120 Ibid., 59.225 – 61.233, at 230.

and the resurrection, while Italos explicitly upholds these beliefs in even the very same words:

Τοῖς […] διὰ τούτων ἀνάστασιν καὶ κρίσιν καὶ τὴν τελευταίαν τῶν βεβιωμένων ἀνταπόδοσιν ἀθετοῦσιν, ἀνάθεμα. (Gouillard, Le Synodikon, as footnote 28 above, 59.193, 61.196–197)

To those […] who deny because of these the resurrection and judgment and final reward for the way in which we conducted our lives – anathema![121]

ἔσται ἄρα ἀνάστασις· καὶ εἰ τοῦτο, καὶ τῶν βεβιωμένων ἡ κρίσις καὶ τῶν ἔργων ἀνταπόδοσις. (Quaestio 71, ll. 118–119)

And so there will be a resurrection. And if so, then, there will also be a judgment for the way in which we conducted our lives, and a reward for our deeds.

It is true that this wording is inspired by the Cappadocian Fathers who, in various works, referred to the Last Judgment (ἡ κρίσις) and the final reward (ἡ ἀνταπόδοσις).[122] Yet, it is striking that the wording in the third anathema of the *Synodikon* corresponds closely to that used in Italos' Quaestio 71.[123] If Italos' treatise had been written first and the anathema had reacted to it, then the latter would have literally contradicted Italos' standpoint, which seems improbable. It is more likely that Italos reacted to the anathema by adopting its wording.

The various resemblances seem to indicate that Italos attempted to counter many of the charges brought up against him. Unfortunately, we do not know for certain when and how these condemnations were drawn up, but there are indications that most of them had been composed during Italos' first trial in 1076/77 and were merely reproduced – and slightly extended – during the second trial in

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[121] Our translation differs from that of Clucas, Trial (as footnote 22 above) 142.

[122] See, among others, Gregory of Nyssa, Dialogus de anima et resurrectione in PG 46, 149C: […] καὶ οὕτω πρὸς τὴν κρίσιν τῶν βεβιωμένων, ἀναγκαῖον ἂν εἴη τῷ κριτῇ πάθος καὶ λώβην, καὶ νόσον, καὶ γῆρας, καὶ ἀκμὴν, καὶ νεότητα, καὶ πλοῦτον, καὶ πενίαν διερευνᾶσθαι· and Basil of Caesarea, De jejunio (homilia 1) in PG 31, 184C: νῦν μὲν τῆς ἀναμνήσεως τοῦ σωτηρίου πάθους, ἐν δὲ τῷ μέλλοντι αἰῶνι τῆς ἀνταποδόσεως τῶν βεβιωμένων ἡμῖν ἐν τῇ δικαιοκρισίᾳ τοῦ Χριστοῦ αὐτοῦ, ὅτι αὐτῷ ἡ δόξα εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας. Ἀμήν.

[123] The only other contemporary parallel that we were able to identify is in Symeon the New Theologian, *Catecheses* 3 in Syméon le Nouveau Théologien, Catéchèses 1–5, ed./transl. B. Krivochéine/J. Paramelle, SC, 96. Paris 1963, 286, ll. 78–82: Εἰπέ μοι, ἐρωτῶ σε, ἀδελφέ, πιστεύων εἶναι κρίσιν καὶ ἀνάστασιν καὶ ἀνταπόδοσιν τῶν βεβιωμένων, ἦλθες ἐν τῇ μονῇ, ὁμολογῶν εἶναι Θεὸν μέλλοντα ἀποδοῦναι ἑκάστῳ κατὰ τὰς πράξεις αὐτοῦ, ἢ οὐδέ τινα τούτων διέθου ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ σου;

1082.[124] Quaestio 71 is peculiar with respect to not naming the emperor who is repeatedly addressed.[125] In all other instances, Italos never failed to name his imperial addressee, which was either Emperor Michael VII or his brother Andronikos Doukas.[126] Might it be that he intended to circulate this treatise as an open letter to the court in order to publicly vindicate his orthodoxy? After all, it is remarkable that in a treatise on the eternity of the world, Italos concludes by expounding Christian trinitology and ethics. The final section of his Quaestio 71 reads much like a personal confession of faith. In the light of all this, it seems

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124 See GOUILLARD, Le Synodikon (as footnote 28 above) 189–192 who points to the marginal notes in Vaticanus gr. 837, fol.216 and Casanatensis gr. 334, fol.362, which attribute the first nine (of altogether eleven) anathemas to the trial of 1076/77. See also USPENSKY, Синодикъ (as footnote 31 above) 47–48, GOUILLARD, Le procès officiel (as footnote 14 above) 133 and MACDONALD, Condemnation (as footnote 24 above) 6 and 33. It is of little importance for our argument here, whether these condemnations are identical or not with those advanced by Michael Kaspakes during the trial in 1082 as originally proposed by F. USPENSKY, Дѣлопроизводство по обвиненію Іоанна Итала въ ереси. *Izvestiya russkago archeologicheskago instituta v Konstantinopole* 2 (1897): 1–66, at 59 but rejected by P.É. STEPHANOU, Jean Italos: Philosophe et humaniste, *Orientalia Christiana Analecta*, 134, Rome 1949, 71–72, GOUILLARD, Le procès officiel (as footnote 14 above) 191 and CLUCAS, Trial (as footnote 22 above) 46–49.

125 N. KETSCHAKMADZE, Из истории общественной мысли Византии в XI в. *VV* 29 (1969) 170–176, at 176 proposed that the addressee was Emperor Alexios Komnenos. In fact, the initial exhortation (to not only address military but also philosophical matters) applies much better to Alexios than to Michael VII, who never saw battle. However, it might also apply to Emperor Nikephoros III Botaneiates, who briefly reigned after Michael before Alexios. Italos seems to model his addressee (in all likelihood either Nikephoros or Alexios) in resemblance to the warrior emperor Basil II, given that his opening exhortation recalls Psellos' encomiastic characterization of Emperor Basil II (r. 976–1025). Cf. Quaestio 71, ll. 2–4 with Michaelis Pselli Chronographia, ed./transl. REINSCH (as footnote 26 above) 20 (Book I,32.7–14): τὰ δὲ τῶν στρατοπέδων, εἰς τὸ ἀκριβὲς εἰδὼς (οὐ πλήθους φημὶ τάξεις· οὐδὲ λόχους συνηρμοσμένους· οὐδὲ δεσμοὺς τάξεως· καὶ λύσεις εὐκαίρους· ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ ἐς τὸν πρωτοστάτην· καὶ τὰ ἐς τὸν ἡμιλοχίτην· καὶ ὁπόσα καὶ ἐς τὸν κατόπιν ἀνενεγκεῖν), εὐπετῶς τούτοις ἐν τοῖς πολέμοις ἐχρῆτο. ὅθεν οὐδ' ἐπ' ἄλλοις τὴν τάξιν τούτων ἐτίθετο· ἀλλ' ἑκάστου καὶ τὴν φύσιν· καὶ τὴν τεχνικὴν ἀγωνίαν εἰδὼς· καὶ πρὸς ὃ ἢ τῷ ἤθει ἢ τῇ παιδείᾳ συνήρμοσται, πρὸς τοῦτο συνῆγε καὶ συνεβίβαζε. – As he had a precise knowledge of military lore, (I do not mean [simply] that relative to the companies of the troops, or to the ordaining of the divisions, or to the question when it is convenient to combine or separate the divisions of a company, but also to the duties of the file-leader, or the squad-leader and the subordinate ranks) he used this knowledge dexterously in the wars. So, he did not entrust the task of the composition of these ranks to others but, knowing the nature and the technical skills of each one of his men, he appointed them to the tasks for which their character or training made them fit. – Our translation differs from that of SEWTER (as footnote 26 above) 46.

126 Notably Quaestio 43, 53.20: Εἰς τὸν βασιλέα κῦρ Ἀνδρόνικον [...] and Quaestio 50, 63.12: Πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα κῦρ Μιχαήλ [...] and KETSCHAKMADZE, Itali Opera (as footnote 18 above) 1.1: Ἰωάννου τοῦ Ἰταλοῦ πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα κῦρ Ἀνδρόνικον [...]

probable that Italos wrote his Quaestio 71 in reaction to the anathemas in an attempt to free himself of continuous allegations after 1077. Moreover, it is quite possible that it was composed during or briefly after his renewed interrogation in 1082.[127]

Could, then, this treatise be composed after Italos' partial rehabilitation, during his monastic career, which has led him to fulfill the important position of *chartophylax* in the church of Antioch? His, at least partial, rehabilitation pointed out by Paul Magdalino would have allowed Italos to compose and/or redact works following his trial. Moreover, Anna Komnene remarks that "at a later time he changed his mind concerning [Church] dogma and repented of what he had formerly erred on."[128] Although possible, it is not necessary to assume that Quaestio 71 was written much after 1082. In fact, its content corresponds to the thought system represented by Italos' other writings, especially Quaestio 86 and 92, and contain a Christian Platonist interpretation of creation and resurrection, which must have been ultimately inacceptable to those who formulated the anathemas. It is interesting to note that the *Timarion*, a Lucianic satire composed in the first half of the twelfth century, lays great emphasis on Italos' Christian identity. It presents a fictitious narrative scene in which Italos is rejected by ancient Greek philosophers for his incorrigible "Galilaean," i.e., Christian mindset.[129] Apparently, while some of the Byzantines remembered him as a condemned arch-heretic, others recognized in him the Christian Platonist philosopher.

In the final analysis, Italos' discourse stands out for its clear exposition of the ethical implications that are at stake in the debate over the eternity of the world.[130] These implications do not only pertain to the Christian dogma of the Last Judgment and the resurrection[131] but also to a virtuous lifestyle and even

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[127] Some support for such a view might be found in Italos' confession of faith in Quaestio 71, ll. 140–145, which can be read as a correction of his problematic and rather careless phrasing during his trial in 1082, see Gouillard, Le Synodikon (as footnote 28 above) 145.164–168.
[128] Alexias V.9.7, eds. Reinsch/Kambylis (as footnote 19 above) 167.21–23: καὶ γὰρ οὗτος ἐν ὑστέροις καιροῖς μετεβέβλητο περὶ τὸ δόγμα καὶ ἐφ' οἷς ποτε πεπλάνητο μεταμεμέλητο, [...]
[129] Pseudo-Luciano, Timarione: Testo critico, introduzione, traduzione, commentario e lessico, ed. R. Romano. *Byzantina et neo-hellenica neapolitana*, 2. Naples 1974, 88.1077–1084 (§43).
[130] Not only in the case of the eternity of the world does Italos explain the implicit logic of Christian teaching. See Clucas, Trial (as footnote 22 above) 143.
[131] Although there is no doubt that Italos upheld the belief in the resurrection, there seems to have been objections against how he explained the resurrection in detail. The heading of Quaestio 86, 134.18–19 asks the question "how we will resurrect with our own coarse and material bodies." Italos' argumentation emphasizes, just as in Quaestio 71, the identity of the body's form, without saying anything about its materiality, which seems to allow for the idea of a spi-

to privileged access to divine mysteries. Virtue is presented as a direct function of the demonstrable knowledge that the world will perish and that there will be a resurrection. The overall purpose of Italos' treatise to refute eternalism in order to discuss virtue is in fact a new argument against the eternity of the world. Italos' new, ethical line of reasoning holds: the world cannot be eternal because believing in an eternal world is antithetical to a virtuous, Christian life.

It was obvious to everyone involved in this debate that the issue of the eternity qualifies God's relationship to the world.[132] An eternal world entails a necessary, mutually implicative relationship, in which there is no room for any personal arbitration on the part of God: miracles and divine redemption would be absurd. Likewise, divine arbitration and personalized providence would be denied. Conversely, a creation at the beginning of time implies an act of divine will and allows for individualized providence – a notion on which imperial ideology heavily depended. The Byzantine emperor was considered the appointed viceroy of Christ on earth. Italos calls the emperor "closely resembling God" (θεῷ παραπλήσιος).[133] Due to this close affinity it was the emperor's particular honor and duty to act in accordance with the divine mandate. The notion of an eternal world would obliterate any such political legitimacy.[134] What was a

ritual, non-material body. In Quaestio 86 he also adopts the Plotinian doctrine of the non-existence of matter. In this sense, the doctrine attributed to Italos by the ninth anathema could indeed be his. See GOUILLARD, Le Synodikon (as footnote 28 above) 59.225 – 61.233, at 59.225 – 227. Cf. (Alexias V.9.7, eds. REINSCH/KAMBYLIS (as footnote 19 above) 167.24 – 25). See further STEPHANOU, Jean Italos: L'immortalité (as footnote 59 above) 417 – 420 and IDEM, Jean Italos: Philosophe et humaniste (as footnote 124 above) 93. Quaestio 86 has also been attributed to Psellos, see Michaelis Pselli Philosophica Minora, 2. Opuscula Psychologica, Theologica, Daemonologica, ed. D. J. O'MEARA. *Bibliotheca Scriptorum Graecorum et Romanorum Teubneriana*. Leipzig 1989, 103 – 104 (Opusc. 28). Yet, it seems that the author is indeed Italos, as the text attributed to him is more complete, clearer and in tune with Quaestio 71 and 92, although in some places it can be emended on the basis of the text attributed to Psellos. Our hypothesis is that this text, which does not treat the question of the resurrection of the material body but rather refutes this idea implicitly, was controversial. Hence, it was slightly emended in the version attributed to Italos but was also attributed to Psellos so as to preserve it under the name of a less controversial authority. We intend to discuss this question in a future publication.

132 See DAVIDSON, Proofs for eternity (as footnote 81 above) 1 – 2.

133 Quaestio 71, l. 122. On the notion of the emperor being Christ's viceroy, see, among others, D. M. NICOL, Byzantine political thought, in J. H. BURNS (ed.), The Cambridge History of Medieval Political Thought c.350–c.1450. Cambridge 1988, 51 – 79, at 52 f. For criticism against the exclusivity of this notion, see A. KALDELLIS, The Byzantine republic. people and power in New Rome. Cambridge, MA/London 2015, 165 – 198.

134 Having the very same implications in mind, al-Ghazālī (ca. 1056 – 1111), a near contemporary of Italos, pronounced a *fatwā*, a legal judgment, which promoted the death penalty for those upholding the eternity of the world. In the epilogue of his *Tahāfut al-falāsifa* al-Ghazālī accuses

predominately exegetical dispute for Proklos and Philoponos, had – by the time of the eleventh century – grown into a controversy that was much more focused on its wide-ranging ethical and political ramifications.

Italos would have certainly agreed that the eternity of the world is a politically precarious issue, since he was accused of and condemned for having taught this doctrine. The irony is that he was teaching a Platonic creationist account, which he supported with the traditional anti-eternalist philosophical arguments. On the one hand, this account stands in opposition to the Neoplatonic teaching of an eternal world. On the other hand, it differs from the ecclesiastically sanctioned viewpoint (as voiced in the *Synodikon*) with regard to its philosophical terminology and the notion of imperishable forms. Italos appears as a Christian Platonist who argued in his Quaestio 71 against radical, neoplatonizing philosophers (whose identity has yet to be determined). He endorses the Middle Platonist interpretation of the *Timaeus* and opposes Neoplatonic emanationism.[135] He could have hardly been more explicit in his *diatribe* in cautioning about the ethical implications of the putative eternity of the world. Italos was absolutely clear on the point that there would be no room for Christian ethics in an eternal world.

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all those of unbelief or infidelity (*kufr*) who uphold (1) the pre-eternity of the world, (2) God's ignorance of sublunar particulars and (3) the denial of bodily resurrection. Unbelief, if leveled against a Muslim, amounts to a charge of apostasy that is punishable by death, which al-Ghazālī explicitly endorsed. For al-Ghazālī's *fatwā*, see Al-Ghazālī, Incoherence of the philosophers, ed./transl. by M. Marmura. *Islamic Translation Series*. Provo, UT 2000, 226. For a contextualization of this *fatwā*, see F. Griffel, Al-Ghazālī's philosophical theology. Oxford 2009, 101–109. Furthermore, for al-Ghazālī's influence on Maimonides' argumentation against the eternity of the world, see A. Treiger, Inspired knowledge in Islamic thought: Al-Ghazāli's theory of mystical cognition and its Avicennian foundation. London and New York 2012, 112–114.

135 In this regard, see the useful distinction drawn by T. Lankila, The Byzantine reception of Neoplatonism, in A. Kaldellis/N. Siniossoglou (eds.), The Cambridge Intellectual History of Byzantium. Cambridge 2017, 314–324, esp. 314–318.

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Néphéli Mauche and Jack Roskilly

There and back again: on the influence of Psellos on the career of Mauropous

Abstract: Some aspects of the life of John Mauropous are still unclear. It is often assumed that his nomination as metropolitan bishop of Euchaita was a disguised exile from the imperial Court. However, it took him more than twenty years to come back to Constantinople after quitting his bishopric. The close analysis of the relationship between Mauropous and Psellos, another exile from Constantine Monomachos' Court, will lead us to reconsider the conditions of the departure and the return of Mauropous. If his nomination was not the described exile, his resignation was conditioned with the willing of Psellos, who was his main support in the capital but was not as reliable friend as he seemed to.

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Psellos' retirement from court by fear of imperial disfavour at the end of Monomachos' reign is among the most mysterious events related in the *Chronographia*.[1] In order to increase the dramatic efficiency of the scene, Psellos accelerates the narration of facts and events that happened on a rather large scale of time: the oath between the three friends Psellos, Xiphilinos and Mauropous, a narrative thread which suits fiction better than history, and their departure from court become the critical moment of Monomachos' fate, that brings him to inexorable decline and death.

While the function of the episode, if not its chronology, is clear enough, a major problem remains: when and in which condition did Mauropous leave

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1 Michaelis Pselli Chronographia. Band 1: Einleitung und Text, ed. D. R. Reinsch. *Millennium-Studien*, 51. Berlin/Boston 2014, VI 191 – 200.

the imperial court to become a bishop in Euchaita? As a matter of fact, the narration begins with the encounter of Psellos with two unnamed friends, both older than him and "amateurs of philosophy, when I [Psellos] was an accomplished philosopher".[2] Despite Psellos' general reluctance to give the identity of the characters of the *Chronographia*, there is no doubt about the identification of those two friends, Ioannes Xiphilinos and Ioannes Mauropous, since Psellos has given other similar accounts of his meeting with the two men in his funeral orations for the patriarchs Xiphilinos and Leichoudes.[3] The story then continues with their introduction at Court thanks to Psellos' intercession before the emperor, and the depiction of their common fear of imperial disgrace. It seems only logical that the oath to follow the tracks of whoever would first seek refuge in the monastic life involves the three men, and one would expect to hear about their three respective fates. However, the next sequence shortly relates the conversion to monastic life of the first friend,[4] and is immediately followed by a much longer and dramatic narration of Psellos' own attempts to imitate his friend's decision. Because of the long digression about the emperor's affection for Psellos and the very conclusive ending of the episode, it goes almost unnoticed that nothing is explicitly said about the third man.

Of course, Mauropous gives his own account of his dreaded nomination to the see of Euchaita: this event is the turning point of his letters collection[5] and of the dedicatory epigram of his poetry collection.[6] Mauropous claims his apprehensions before the election, his despair when learning the results, and seems overall miserable when describing to his addressees his life so far away

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2 Ibid. VI 192: ἐκείνω μὲν ἐραστὰ τῆς φιλοσοφίας ἐτύγχανον ὄντε, ἐγὼ δὲ ἐφιλοσόφουν τὰ τελεώτερα·

3 Psellos, considering his two friends "named Ioannes", compares Mauropous and Xiphilinos as more competent respectively in rhetoric and law, whereas Psellos overlooks them in philosophy (Michael Psellus Orationes funebres vol. 1, ed. I. Polemis. Stuttgart/Leipzig 2014, 2, 4 and ibid. 3, 5, 29–44).

4 **i.e.** Xiphilinos, as we learn in his funeral oration and in the letters. Cf. Orationes funebres (as footnote 3 above) 3, 5–6; K. Sathas, Μεσαιωνική Βιβλιοθήκη V. Paris 1892, 36, 37, 44 and 175; Michaelis Pselli scripta minora magnam partem adhuc inedita. II Epistulae, ed. E. Kurtz / F. Drexl. Milan 1941, 191, 265, 273; P. Gautier, Quelques lettres de Psellos inédites ou déjà éditées. *RÉB* 44 (1986) 17 and 30.

5 The Letters of Ioannes Mauropous Metropolitan of Euchaita, ed. A. Karpozilos. *CFHB*, 34. Thessalonica 1990, 38, 43, 44, 45 and 48–51.

6 Iohannis Euchaitorum Metropolitae quae in codice Vaticano Graeco 676 supersunt, ed. P. de Lagarde. Göttingen 1882, VI.

from the capital.[7] Yet it is difficult to establish a precise chronology of his career at court, of his departure and of his late return solely based on his own works.

Despite the curious omission of Mauropous in the *Chronographia*, shattered information from Psellos' letters and orations can help us to understand the circumstances of Mauropous' ascent and disgrace. Paradoxically, it is not in the *Enkomion* that he composed for his friend that we find information to establish Mauropous' situation at Court and the role that he played in the "philosophical tetrad" in charge of the government of the empire during the first decade of Monomachos' reign, but in the two funeral orations for the patriarchs Xiphilinos and Leichoudes. As one would expect considering the rules of a funeral oration, direct information on Mauropous is scarce in these two speeches – actually, he is not even mentioned in the oration for Xiphilinos –, yet there are some elements worth mentioning.

The *Funeral oration for Leichoudes* is particularly precious for its information about Mauropous' (and Xiphilinos') early career at court. It is the only text to recall the family bonds that linked him to Mauropous.

> Ὃς δὴ καὶ ἐκ ταὐτοῦ γένους ἐπανατείλας τῷ ἐγκωμιαζομένῳ, ὥσπερ ἐξ αὐτῆς ῥίζης ἐκείνῳ συντεθηλώς, ἀπορίαν δίδωσι, πότερον οὗτος δι'ἐκεῖνον σεμνότερος ἢ ἐκείνῳ ἐντεῦθεν τὸ ἀξίωμα τῆς ἄνω γενέσεως ἢ εἰς τὸ ἴσον ἀμφοῖν ὁ τῆς σεμνότητος λόγος, ᾧ δὴ καὶ μᾶλλον ἐγὼ τίθεμαι, ἀντιδιδόντος ἑκάστου ὃ ἀντιλαμβάνει καὶ ἀντιλαμβάνοντος ὃ ἀντιδίδωσιν.
>
> In fact, he [the bishop of Euchaita, i.e. Mauropous] rose up from the same family as the one being praised now, just as though they bloomed together from the same roots, giving rise to the question of whether he became more revered on account of the other, or whether the other acquired the glory of noble birth from this relationship, or whether an equal account must be given of their dignity, which I reckon worthier of praises, since each returned to the other what he received and the exchange was repeated in turn.[8]

Mauropous, whose family arrived from Paphlagonia to Constantinople at a very young age,[9] worked for an older relative who already held a position at Court.

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7 The Letters of Ioannes Mauropous (as footnote 5 above) 45, 52, 54, 56, 57, 64 and 68; Iohannis Euchaitorum Metropolitae (as footnote 6 above) 89 – 93.

8 Orationes funebres (as footnote 3 above) 2, 4, 34 – 45, transl. A. Kaldellis, Psellos and the patriarchs: letters and funeral orations for Keroullarios, Leichoudes, and Xiphilinos. Notre Dame 2015, 136 – 137 (with slight alterations).

9 Psellos informs us in the *Chronographia* that he and Xiphilinos were not born in Constantinople (Chronographia (as footnote 1 above) VI 192). He fails to give us more detailed information in the *Encomion* for Mauropous, stating only that Mauropous himself almost forgot the city where he was born (Michael Psellus. Orationes panegyricae, ed. G. Dennis. Stuttgart/Leipzig 1994, 17, 55). Mauropous, however, considered himself a Paphlagonian in two letters (The Letters of Ioannes Mauropous, as footnote 5 above, 9, 15 and 11, 16). The fact that his uncle was

However, it was Mauropous' own rhetorical talents rather than family links that made him such a close assistant of his relative. As a matter of fact, Psellos first mentions him along with Xiphilinos as the two Ioannes assisting Leichoudes with their respective knowledge in Law and Rhetoric – from which we can deduce that much credit for Leichoudes' extraordinary display of knowledge in those two fields, as praised in the subsequent text, should actually go to his two younger assistants who did not belong to the senatorial ranks. Psellos indicates that they had both undertook an ecclesiastical career, which might be true for Mauropous whom we know was a deacon long before being named bishop of Euchaita,[10] but which is probably not true for Xiphilinos at this time,[11] and must be understood as a rhetorical effort of Psellos to display the two assistants in a perfectly symmetrical way.

It is important to notice that Psellos excludes himself from Leichoudes' cabinet when he first mentions it in the oration, arguing his young age.[12] It is likely indeed that he held a minor position in the imperial chancellery when he first met his three older friends,[13] but Psellos also has a good reason not to include himself in Leichoudes' clientèle at this time: as we understand from the following sequences, Leichoudes occupied an important position at court under the reigns of the emperors Michel IV and Michel V. He must have been an influential counselor of the young emperor, since the latter considered making Leichoudes his *mesazon*, if we are to believe Psellos.[14] It is not surprising that Mauropous was also trying to get promotion at Court under these emperors: this can be inferred from his epigram dedicated to the brother of Michael IV, the protovestiarios Georgios offering an icon of the Christ.[15]

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the bishop of Klaudioupolis also hints towards the hypothesis of a paphlagonian origin of the family, since it was customary for families to seek a bishopric in a place where they were already influential. For examples of this career path, see J.-C. Cheynet, Pouvoir et Contestations à Byzance (963–1210). *Byzantina Sorbonensia*, 9. Paris 1990, 316; A. Karpozilos, Συμβολή στη μελέτη του βίου και του έργου του Ιωάννη Μαυρόποδος. Ioannina 1979, 27–28.

10 Iohannis Euchaitorum (as footnote 6 above) VI.

11 Xiphilinos is known to have undertaken his monastic career only after 1050.

12 Orationes funebres (as footnote 3 above) 2, 4, 24–27, transl. Kaldellis, Psellos and the Patriarchs (as footnote 8 above) 136: "I was still young when I met both of them, and they had by then matured. At the time I had just barely begun my basic education, while they had entered into the contest of rhetoric."

13 J.-C. Riedinger, Quatre étapes de la vie de Michel Psellos. *RÉB* 68 (2010) 30–37.

14 Orationes funebres (as footnote 3 above) 2, 6, 18–29, transl. Kaldellis, Psellos and the Patriarchs (as footnote 8 above) 140–141.

15 Iohannis Euchaitorum (as footnote 6 above) 26.

The tragic downfall of the Paphlagonian dynasty which made such a strong impression on all its contemporaries[16] might have urged Mauropous to adopt his famous life motto, *λάθε βιώσας*. However, neither Leichoudes nor his two assistants must have been too compromised in the last reign, since after a prudent eclipse, they all returned to court, maybe with the help of Psellos whose position had improved in their absence. A possible hint of Mauropous's difficulties to come back in the palace might be read however in the *Chronographia:* τὸν μὲν, [Xiphilinos] αὐτίκα τῷ βασιλεῖ προσῳκείωσα· τὸν δὲ. [Mauropous] μετὰ ταῦτα, οὐ γὰρ ἦν ἐκείνῳ βουλομένῳ εὐθὺς προσιέναι τῷ αὐτοκράτορι.[17] While Renauld understands that Mauropous did not wish to be immediately introduced to the emperor,[18] one can wonder if the text doesn't actually mean that "despite his desire, it was not possible for him [Mauropous] to be introduced to the emperor."

The extent of Psellos' role in his friends return is difficult to evaluate. It is certain that he gained the trust and affection of Constantine Monomachos rather quickly, but how much exactly could he weigh in on the emperor's decisions in the first years of his reign? In the above-mentioned passage of the *Chronographia*, Psellos attributes himself a major role, as he claims to have introduced them to the emperor because he couldn't stand to be the only one to enjoy the imperial favour, but this is the only scene where he mentions having helped Mauropous into joining the palace, and Psellos' silence about the help that he provided in the *Enkomion* rises suspicion on its veracity: it is not a matter of modesty, since he represents himself playing an active role in the nomination of Mauropous at the see Euchaita in the *Enkomion.*[19] It seems to us that Psellos

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16 Chronographia (as footnote 1 above) V 40; Cecaumeno, Raccomandazioni e consigli di un galantuomo, ed. M. Sparado. Alexandria 1998, 3, 138: εὐφράνθητι ἐν εὐτυχίᾳ, ἀλλὰ μὴ ἐπαίρου· εἶδον γὰρ ἐγὼ βασιλέα τύραννον πρωῒ μὲν ἐν ὑπερηφανίᾳ, ἑσπέρας δὲ θρήνων ἄξιον. On the presence of Kekaumenos at those events, see Ioannes Skylitzes. Synopsis historiarum, ed. H. Thurn. *CFHB*, 22 Berlin 1973, 419, transl. B. Flusin / J.-C. Cheynet, Empereurs de Constantinople. *Réalités byzantines*, 8. Paris 2003, 348. On the figure of Michael V in Byzantine narratives, see S. Papaioannou, Remarks in Michael Attaleiates' *History*, in Pour l'amour de Byzance. Hommage à Paolo Odorico, ed. C. Gastgeber / Ch. Messis / D.I. Mureşan /F. Ronconi. *Eastern and Central European studies*, 3. Frankfurt am Main 2013, 162.

17 Chronographia (as footnote 1 above) VI 192.

18 See Renauld's translation: Chronographie ou Histoire d'un siècle de Byzance (976 – 1077), ed. É. Renauld. Paris 1926, VI 192. D.R. Reinsch's edition does not give new clues for the understanding of that text.

19 Orationes panegyricae (as footnote 9 above) 17, 455 – 459: "As for me, I often blamed him for his excessive contempt – I was bold enough to do so because of our frequent conversations, and I was trying to reveal him and to put him on a stand so that he would embrace the world with the teachings and doctrines that he had collected." (Ἔγωγ' οὖν αὐτῷ πολλάκις τὴν ἀμε-

only mentions his help when he doesn't fear contradictions, either because it is the truth, either because those who supposedly benefited from his help are already dead, as for instance Xiphilinos in the *Funeral oration*.[20] In this perspective, the fact that he fails to mention the help that he provided Mauropous at the beginning of Monomachos' reign in the *Enkomion* most likely means that it was quite insignificant: Mauropous, who "still [had] life left in him[21]" at the time of its redaction, could have objected that he didn't owe his return to Court to Psellos, but rather to other more influential personalities of his own network.

As a matter of fact, considering the difference with Xiphilinos who wasn't much older than Psellos – A. Kaldellis and I. Polemis propose a five- to eight-year gap on the basis of Psellos' funeral oration for Xiphilinos[22] –, both Mauropous and Leichoudes were more mature men. It is hard to believe that the two principal advisors of Constantine Monomachos until 1050 were indebted to Psellos for their position: Psellos might have informed them of the emperor's dispositions towards them at most, as he does later, acting as an informant for whoever official fearing to be in disgrace, but it is unlikely that he influenced the ruler's decision to take them back in Court. Had he played such a role, Psellos would not have missed the opportunity to display his own important position. As a testimony of Psellos' lower social status, we are lucky enough to possess a surviving exchange of letters most likely written by Psellos and Mauropous in the context of the creation of the chair of philosophy.[23] While both letters de-

τρίαν τῆς ἀδοξίας ὠνείδιζον, εἶχον γὰρ τὸ θαρρεῖν αὐτῷ παρὰ τὴν τοῦ λόγου κοινωνίαν, καὶ ἐπειρώμην ἐκκαλύπτειν καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς λυχνίας τιθέναι, ἵν' οὕτως πυρσεύοι τῇ οἰκουμένῃ ἃ συνειλόχει σωτήρια διδάγματά τε καὶ δόγματα).

20 According to his funeral oration, Xiphilinos owed to Psellos both Monomachos' favour and his patriarchal throne: Orationes funebres (as footnote 3 above) 3, 8, transl. Polemis, Psellos and the Patriarchs (as footnote 8 above) 189. Psellos's role is only suggested in the *Chronographia* (Chronographia, as footnote 1 above, VII 66).

21 Orationes funebres (as footnote 3 above) 2, 4, transl. Kaldellis, Psellos and the Patriarchs (as footnote 8 above) 136.

22 Psellos being born in 1018, Xiphilinos is born between 1010 and 1013: cf. Orationes funebres (as footnote 3 above) 3, 5, transl. Polemis, Psellos and the Patriarchs (as footnote 8 above) 184 – 185.

23 The Letters of Ioannes Mauropous (as footnote 5 above) 23 and Psellos' answer in Gautier, Quelques lettres (as footnote 4 above) 33. The narration of the double nomination of Psellos as a teacher of philosophy and of Xiphilinos at the head of the Law school can be read in the *Funeral oration for Xiphilinos* (Orationes funebres, as footnote 3 above, 3, 9 – 10). For a synthese of the much-discussed question of the renewal of the schools of Constantinople by Constantine Monomachos, see W. Wolska-Conus, Les écoles de Psellos et de Xiphilin. *TM* 6 (1976) 228 – 229;

note familiarity and affection, the hierarchy between the former professor and the disciple, as well as between the influential advisor of the emperor and the promising yet younger courtier remains present and unquestioned. Psellos is unusually humble when thanking Mauropous for his praises and support: if Mauropous owed him the imperial favour, whatever his respect and affection, Psellos would have jokingly alluded to their mutual give-and-take relation, since we know that Psellos is not shy to do so, even with the most important characters of the empire.[24] Our general impression is that at last in 1047, it was Mauropous who was helping his younger friend and student by recommending him to the emperor and not the other way around. To make an entrance at Court, Mauropous most likely used his own network which included Psellos but did not rely on him alone: the passage of the *Chronographia*, as it seems, is anachronistic, since Psellos attributes himself in the beginning of Monomachos' reign the importance that he enjoys at the court of Constantine X Doukas about twenty years later, at the time of the redaction of the *Chronographia*. Such boasting would be out of place in the *Enkomion*, which was written for a living Mauropous, hence the silence of Psellos on this matter.

The function held by Mauropous at court is not easy to evaluate. While still a professor, so it seems,[25] he would advise the emperor and pronounce speeches to celebrate his victories, probably as the official court orator.[26] We also know from the dedicatory poem opening the codex Vat.gr. 676 that he held the function of a deacon. When, however, he embraced his religious career remains unclear: in one of the first letters of his collection (epist. 5), he haughtily refuses to become the chartophylax of Hagia Sophia, a very high position which implied that he was already a deacon. If, with all the reserve required, the letters have been clas-

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P. Lemerle, "Le gouvernement des philosophes": remarques sur l'enseignement, les écoles, la culture, in idem, Cinq éudes sur le XI[e] siècle byzantin. Paris 1977, 207–212 and 227–241.

24 See for instance the development of this theme in his letter to the patriarch Michael Keroullarios published by E. Maltese, Epistole inedite di Michele Psello I-III. *Studi italiani di filologia classica* 3 (1988) 16, 58–59.

25 Besides the testimony of his student Psellos, we are informed about Mauropous activities as a professor, from his famous two epigrams about the loss of his house where he used to give classes (The Letters of Ioannes Mauropous, as footnote 5 above, 47 and 48), from his letters (especially the letters to the cleric Gregory: ibid., 17 and 18, 71–87), from his participation to the competitions of schedography (cf. F. Bernard, Writing and reading Byzantine secular poetry, 1025–1081. Oxford 2014, 133).

26 J. Lefort, Rhétorique et politique: trois discours de Jean Mauropous en 1047. *TM* 6 (1976) 265–303.

sified in a chronological order,[27] this would mean that Mauropous had been ordained before meeting Constantine Monomachos and being introduced to his Court – an event related further in the collection, in letter 19.

Shortly before the death of Zoe however,[28] the group of the philosophers and scholars assisting Monomachos under the protection of Constantine Leichoudes fell into disfavour, and Mauropous, along with Xiphilinos and Psellos, faced major difficulties. Psellos blames the jealous and irritable mood of the emperor to justify this change of fortune in the *Chronographia*, but it is also possible that the emperor resented Leichoudes for the poor advice he gave him during the revolt of Tornikios,[29] or, as suggested by Chondridou,[30] that the minister and his cabinet were actually the empress's protégés. We should however notice that the *Funeral Oration* states that Leichoudes' disgrace wasn't the result of a sudden crisis, but of a long process where Constantine Monomachos took considerable precautions to manage an honorable exit to his former minister:[31] he remained a layman until becoming the patriarch of Constantinople and was holding at that time the very rewarding position of curator of the *oikos* of the Manganes, a position so comfortable that he abandoned it rather reluctantly even in exchange of the patriarchal throne.[32] According to Skylitzes, he received this *pronoia* from

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27 As A. Kazhdan remarks: "The data of this list are not sufficient to ascertain the theory of the chronological sequence of letters in the collection. But on the other hand, the letters are too vague to contradict such a theory. One should be careful, however, to abstain from dating Mauropous' letters on the basis of their position between two datable missives." (A. Kazhdan, Some problems in the biography of John Mauropous I. *JÖB* 43 (1993) 102. At the difference of the epigram collection however, no thematic organization pattern seems to apply to the letters. Cf. F. Bernard, Writing and reading (as footnote 25 above), 135 – 144.

28 In the *Chronographia*, the episode of the disgrace of Leichoudes (Chronographia, as footnote 1 above, VI 179 – 181) takes place just before the narration of Zoe's death (ibid. VI 183).

29 Leichoudes advised a disastrous assault against the troops of Tornikios whereas other counselors like Argyros insisted on staying within the walls. This manœuvre almost cost Monomachos his throne. Cf. Ioannes Skylitzes (as footnote 16 above) 440, transl. Flusin/Cheynet (as footnote 16 above) 366.

30 S. Chondridou, Ο Κωνσταντίνος Θ' Μονομάχος και η εποχή του (ενδέκατος αιώνας μ. Χ.). Thessaloniki 2002, 238.

31 Orationes funebres (as footnote 3 above) 2, 9, transl. Kaldellis, Psellos and the patriarchs (as footnote 8 above) 147 – 148.

32 E.T. Tsolakes, Ἡ συνέχεια τῆς χρονογραφίας τοῦ Ἰωάννου Σκυλίτση. Thessalonike 1968, 106: ἀνὴρ μέγιστον διαλάμψας τοῖς βασιλικοῖς καὶ πολιτικοῖς πράγμασιν ἀπό τε τῆς τοῦ Μονομάχου ἀναρρήσεως καὶ μέχρι τοῦ τηνικάδε καιροῦ, καὶ μέγα κλέος ἐπὶ τῷ μεσασμῷ τῆς τῶν ὅλων διοικήσεως ἀπενεγκάμενος καὶ τῆς τῶν Μαγγάνων προνοίας καὶ τῶν δικαιωμάτων φύλαξ παρὰ τοῦ εἰρημένου βασιλέως καταλειφθείς. The traditional interpretation is that Leichoudes received the *charistike* over the Manganes (for a survey, see A. Harvey, Economic expansion in the Byzantine empire 900 – 1200. Cambridge 1989, 72 – 73). M. Bartusis has however challenged

Constantine Monomachos, maybe as a way to exclude him from the business of the state while keeping him occupied and satisfied with this ludicrous activity.[33]

In this regard, we have no reason to consider that Mauropous, Xiphilinos and Psellos' disgrace was any more sudden or spectacular, whatever pathetic account they give of those events. Of course, once deprived of their protector, the condition of the three friends became more precarious, and unlike Leichoudes, they were not "merely grazed" by the arrows of their enemies, as would Psellos say,[34] but had to engage a real fight to keep their positions, a fight that they would all eventually lose, even if they still managed to keep their positions for a while. If we see Psellos and Xiphilinos struggling against "slanderous" attacks,[35] the difficulties that Mauropous had to face remain mysterious.

We don't know exactly what were the emperor's grievances against Mauropous. While Psellos exposes the causes that lead Leichoudes and Xiphilinos to be removed from their office, no specific event is mentioned concerning Mauropous, so that even the fact that his election was a form of punishment has been questioned, despite his persisting laments over this nomination.[36] It seems however that Mauropous had a strong temper, against which Psellos regularly warns his friend: as we learn from letter KD 229, he reacted harshly to his friend's dubious sense of humor, but in the same letter, Psellos also seems genuinely concerned that he might express his displeasure to the emperor rather bluntly. Mauropous' texts are not very helpful either, and we can only formulate a hypothesis about the facts to which they refer. Epigram 96 for instance is a provocative declaration by Mauropous that he will rather abandon the redaction of a historical

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this view and shown that the *Continuation* of Skylitzes more likely refers to the function of curator of the monastery (M. Bartusis, Land and privilege in Byzantium. The institution of pronoia. Cambridge 2012, 22 – 25).

33 A similar case of this function being given to someone hold in suspicion or disgrace can be found with the possibly immediate successor of Leichoudes in the sekreton of the Manganes: a seal inform us that Constantine, the nephew of the patriarch Michael Keroullarios, has been βεστάρχης, κριτὴς τοῦ βήλου καὶ μέγας κουράτωρ τοῦ σεκρέτου τῶν Μαγγάνων, a position that he must have obtained either under the reign of Isaac Komnenos, when recalled to Court after his uncle's deposition, either under the reign of Constantine X Doukas, when he faced a major trial and was suspected to attempt usurpation. Cf. A.-K. Wassiliou-Seibt, Die Neffen des Patriarchen Michael I. Kerullarios (1043 – 1058) und ihre Siegel. *Bulgaria Mediaevalis* 2 (2011) 146.

34 Orationes funebres (as footnote 3 above) 2, 9, transl. Kaldellis, Psellos and the Patriarchs (as footnote 8 above) 147.

35 Orationes funebres (as footnote 3 above) 2, 12, transl. Kaldellis, Psellos and the Patriarchs (as footnote 8 above) 194 – 195.

36 Kazhdan, Some Problems (as footnote 26 above) 87 – 111; A. Kazhdan, Some Problems in the Biography of John Mauropous. II. Byzantion 65 (1995) 362 – 387.

work than transform it into an encomium. Such a statement might give us a glimpse of a crisis between the author and – most likely – the emperor, even if it is impossible to know whether it is a cause or a consequence of Mauropous' disgrace. However, considering its position in the collection, this poem must have been intended by Mauropous to express his independent persona as an author, as it has been proposed by F. Bernard:[37] such bold claims might be precisely what Psellos would fear when organizing a meeting between Mauropous and an emperor.

The imperial disfavour probably revived his aspirations to a more obscure life devoted to acquiring and dispensing knowledge, as it appears that he resumed his teachings – provided that he ever stopped. Besides Mauropous' epigram 47 in which he deplores the fact that he must abandon his house which was also the school where he used to teach (cf. below), Psellos might also allude to this professorial activity in the *Enkomion* when describing – with a striking metaphor of a timid eaglet borrowed from Mauropous himself[38] – the circumstances of his election.

> Ἔγωγ' οὖν αὐτῷ πολλάκις τὴν ἀμετρίαν τῆς ἀδοξίας ὠνείδιζον, εἶχον γὰρ τὸ θαρρεῖν αὐτῷ παρὰ τὴν τοῦ λόγου κοινωνίαν, καὶ ἐπειρώμην ἐκκαλύπτειν καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς λυχνίας τιθέναι, ἵν' οὕτως πυρσεύοι τῇ οἰκουμένῃ ἃ συνειλόχει σωτήρια διδάγματά τε καὶ δόγματα. ὁ δέ, ταχύ τι μὲν τὸ πτερὸν ἡπλώκει, ὥσπερ δὲ δεδιὼς τὸν πολὺν ἀέρα, αὖθις ἐπὶ τοῦ φωλεοῦ λανθάνων ἐμεμενήκει. εἶθ' ἑκατέρωσε διαλαβόντες, ἔνθεν μὲν ὁ αὐτοκράτωρ, ἐκεῖθεν δὲ ὁ τὴν ἀρχιερωσύνην ἰθύνειν λαχών, ὁ μέν, ταῖς ἀνάγκαις, ὁ δέ, ταῖς ψήφοις, ὥσπερ δὴ ἀετιδῆ, καὶ ταῦτα κούφοις πτεροῖς ἐπαιρόμενον, ἐπὶ τοῦ τῆς ἀρχιερωσύνης θρόνου τιθέασι, καὶ ἐξαίρουσιν αὐτῷ ὥσπερ τινὶ κρείττονι κρείττονα τὰ Εὐχάϊτα, οὐ μᾶλλόν γε τοῦτον· ἀνάθημα τῇ μητροπόλει παρέχοντες ἢ ἐκείνην ἐξαρτῶντες τῆς ἐκείνου ψυχῆς· ἔδει γὰρ τῷ μεγίστῳ μὲν τῶν μεγίστων, τοῖς μείζοσι δὲ τοῦ μείζονος, ὅθεν εὖ ποιοῦντα τὰ ἄκρα συνέδραμεν εἰς ταὐτό. [39]

> As for me, I often blamed him for the excessive modesty of his reputation – I was bold enough to do so because of our frequent conversations, and I was trying to reveal him and to put him on a stand so that he would ignite the world with the teachings and doctrines that he had collected. This man however, after having briefly unfolded a first wing, as if he was afraid of the strong wind, crawled back to his nest (φωλεός). Thus the emperor grabbing him from one side, the man in charge of the patriarchate from the other, the first with his command, the second with his votes, lift him, just like an eaglet, seizing his light wings, seat him on the throne of the arch-priesthood, and raise this excellent man to the excellent see of Euchaïta: in the same extent that he was donated to this metropolis, the

37 Bernard, Writing and reading (as footnote 25 above) 135 – 144.
38 The Letters of Ioannes Mauropous (as footnote 5 above) 38, 19 – 27.
39 Orationes panegyricae (as footnote 9 above) 17, 455 – 471.

> metropolis was made dependent upon this man. For the greatest was due to the greatest and the best to the best, so that the edges of good converged in the same point.

While the metaphor of the eaglet might be a wink to his former professor, the mention of the nest which Mauropous tries to crawl back in could bear a double meaning, since the word φωλεός is found in byzantine lexica with the meaning of "school":[40] while Psellos regularly uses this word in a wide meaning of secluded place, he is most likely aware of its connotation in a scholarly context, and the reference here is probably ironic, since Psellos intends to show Mauropous' promotion to the see of Euchaita in a very positive light: the nest is there opposed to the beacon from where the teacher will reach a much wider audience.

We know from his writings that Mauropous did not share this pleasant view and felt that this promotion was a brutal exile from the capital. However, while the purpose of his nomination was maybe to keep him out of the Court, his situation is very similar to Leichoudes' one: the see of Euchaita is indubitably a very honorific position especially in the early 50's when the region is not threatened by any enemies. The metropolis is coveted at the end of the 10th century by an anonymous aspirant bishop,[41] and the bishop Philotheos was appointed ambassador by the emperors Nikephoros Phokas and John Tzimiskes.[42] In the 30's the occupant of this see – a member of an important family, the Rhadenoi – is honored with the rare dignity of *synkellos*,[43] and so are the two bishops who occupy the see between Michael Rhadenos and John Mauropous.[44] For almost one

40 To explain the homeric word ἀποφώλιος occuring in Od. 5.182, byzantine lexicographs refer to the double meaning of φωλεός (Hesychios, Lexicon, volume IV, ed. P. A. Hansen / I. C. Cunningham, Berlin 2009, φ 1092; Suda Lexicon, volume I, pars IV, ed. A. Adler. München/Leipzig 1935, φ 646: Φωλεόν: τὸ παιδευτήριον Ἴωνες. ὅθεν ἀποφώλιοι, οἱ ἀπαίδευτοι. σημαίνει δὲ καὶ τὴν κατάδυσιν τῶν ὄφεων), or only to the meaning of school (Photius, Lexicon, volume III, ed. Ch. Theodoridis. Berlin/Boston 2013, φ 366).

41 J. Darrouzès, Epistoliers byzantins du Xe siècle. Paris. *Archives de l'Orient chrétien* 6 (1960) 28, 364.

42 L. Andriollo, Constantinople et les provinces d'Asie Mineure, IXe–XIe siècle. Administration impériale, sociétés locales et rôle de l'aristocratie. *Monographies*, 52. Paris 2017, 273–274.

43 Ioannes Skylitzes (as footnote 16 above) 375, transl. Flusin/Cheynet (as footnote 16 above) 311.

44 Nothing is known of these bishops except their seals which bear the dignity of *synkellos:* V. Laurent, Le corpus des sceaux de l'Empire byzantin tome V: L'Église. Paris 1965, 770; J. Nesbitt / N. Oikonomidès, Catalogue of Byzantine seals at Dumbarton Oaks in in the Fogg Museum of Art vol. 4. Washington D.C. 1991, 16.2. Even if we cannot date precisely their episcopate, it must have occurred in the 30's-40's for Michael Rhadenos belonged to the first collective promotion of *synkelloi* bishops and, after the resignation of Mauropous in the 70's, this dignity had lost its value and wasn't given anymore to metropolitan bishops (on the history of the dig-

century before Mauropous' appointment, the bishops of Euchaita were closely connected with the emperor and the Court. So when Monomachos and the patriarch elected Mauropous at its head, it was meant to prevent him from complaining.

This does not imply however that Mauropous accepted to leave Constantinople easily: his lament is no mere rhetoric, nor is the choice to organize the edition of all his works around this sudden life-changing nomination. A hint that his resistance against this golden exile was not solely confined to his plaintive letters to his friends may be found in the much discussed episode of the possible confiscation of his *oikos*, in epigrams 47 and 48 of his poem collection.

In epigram 47, Mauropous complains about the loss of his *oikia*, which was both his dwellings and the school where he would teach his students. No allusion is made to Euchaita nor to an imperial disgrace, and only God's will is invoked at the very end of the poem. Mauropous states that he prefers to leave willingly rather than being compelled to:

> πρὶν οὖν προδῷς σὺ καὶ λίπῃς τὸν δεσπότην,
> οὗτος σὲ φεύγει σωφρονῶν ὡς δραπέτιν.
> πρὸ τοῦ παθεῖν ἄκων δὲ τὴν σὴν ζημίαν
> ἑκὼν σε ῥίπτει, καὶ λιπὼν ἀποτρέχει.
> πλὴν οὐ πάθους ἄμοιρος οὐδ' οἴκτου δίχα.
>
> Before you [the oikia] can betray and ditch your master [ie. Mauropous], he wisely leaves you as a fugitive. Before he feels the harm you would inflict, he'd better cast you off and run away, though leaving makes him suffer, even mourn.[45]

According to this poem, it is not clear that Mauropous' house and school, – the φώλεος mentioned by Psellos – was confiscated at all. What could give this impression is the title of the poem mentioning a sale and the following epigram 48, where Mauropous returns to his *oikia* which he no longer calls "paternal heritage, but rather beloved gift of the Christ and brilliant grace of the pious emperor" (v. 2–4). However, in the following verses, it turns out that the Christ and the emperor's role in Mauropous' return was only aimed at convincing him (Ἔπεισαν) to come back, – the Christ by frequently showing him his house in his dreams, and the emperor by publishing his recalling. As far as we can tell, there is no reason to think that the fears expressed in epigram 47 that the house would pass to strangers came true, and Mauropous must have conserved his property while abroad. In this condition, epigram 48, whose tone is signifi-

nity of *synkellos*, see V. Grumel, Titulature des métropolites byzantins 1. Métropolites syncelles. *Études Byzantines* 3, 1945, 92–114).

45 Ch. Livanos, Exile and return in John Mauropous, Poem 47. *BMGS* 32 (2008) 38–49: 42.

cantly different, and where Mauropous seems more concerned by his salvation than by the worldly matters which concerned him in epigram 47, could have been written much later, maybe when Mauropous definitely left Euchaïta to settle back in Constantinople.

What is real however is that Mauropous clearly feared the confiscation of his goods should he refuse to leave, which appears directly related to his election as a bishop. It is possible that the emperor and/or the patriarch were making sure that the reluctant Mauropous accepted his position in Euchaïta by threatening to deprive him from his main source of income. Besides its function as a school, Mauropous's *oikos* was probably not the humble abode fondly described in epigram 47, but really an *oikos*, a building or a complex of buildings which would generate revenues to his owner. While not suffering complete disgrace – the see of Euchaita, as we said, was not a despicable position –, it seems that Mauropous was genuinely unhappy to go there and that he left the capital under significant pressure.

When however did that happen? For a chronology of Mauropous' departure, we can gather arguments from both Psellos' and from Mauropous' works. If we put aside the problematic psellian letter where the various identification of a lady cryptically described as a moon outshining two suns lead to different datings of Mauropous' nomination in Euchaita,[46] it seems to us that all elements are in favour of a departure after 1052. As the *Chronographia* clearly states,[47] Xiphilinos was the first to leave, which allows us to affirm that both Psellos and Mauropous left Constantinople after him. Psellos, who postponed his own departure as long as he could, must have been the last to leave the Court, since he seems to be still well received by the emperor while Mauropous has already fallen in disgrace and is relying on Psellos to praise his merits in front of him. Moreover, it is very likely that Psellos is still living in Constantinople during Mauropous' election and he writes him letters that must have followed shortly his departure.[48] Psellos was probably tonsured once Constantine Monomachos was irremediably condemned by his illness, and left only after his death, that

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46 Michaelis Pselli scripta minora (as footnote 4 above) 34. On this question, see below.
47 Chronographia (as footnote 1 above) VI 195: "Καὶ πρῶτός γε ἡμῶν, ὁ μάλιστα ἐπὶ μέγα τῆς τύχης ἀρθεὶς, τῆς πρὸς Θεὸν πορείας ἀπάρχεται. καὶ οἷος ἐκεῖνος, στήσας ἐν ἀκριβεῖ βάσει τὴν γνώμην· καὶ τῷ Θεῷ ἑδράσας τὸ θέλημα, πλάττεται τὴν τῆς μεταποιήσεως πρόφασιν, ἀρρώστημα σώματος. εἶτα δὴ καὶ ἀσθμαίνων, κατὰ βραχὺ γνωρίζει τὸ πάθος τῷ βασιλεῖ· καὶ δεῖται μεταποιηθήσεσθαι." The use of the term "μεταποίησις" makes it clear that Psellos designates a monastic vocation rather than an episcopal election.
48 Michaelis Pselli scripta minora (as footnote 4 above) 190; Sathas, Μεσαιωνική Βιβλιοθήκη V (as footnote 4 above) 173.

is in January 1055.[49] A stronger argument in favour of a terminus ante quem of Mauropous' departure in 1054 is that Mauropous composed an epigram on a portrait of Monomachos set in the church of Euchaita:[50] the choice of such a topic is understandable only if he actually dwelt here during the time of its redaction. It is more difficult to establish when exactly Xiphilinos went on the mount Olympus, which would give us the first possible date for Mauropous departure. It must have been no later than the end of 1053, since Psellos had the time to send to a seemingly impatient Xiphilinos at last two letters to apologize for not having followed him yet,[51] and the general impression that we get from the *Funeral Oration for Xiphilinos* is that at least one year has passed before Psellos joins him on the Olympus. However, it is difficult to believe that Xiphilinos left Constantinople right after Leichoudes' disgrace. In the *Funeral Oration*, after the episode of Xiphilinos' energetic apology before the emperor in response to Ophrydas' slanderous accusation, we see him busy defending himself against four subsequent attacks, punctuated by short respite periods where he forgets about his decision to leave Court.[52] This suggests that Xiphilinos' departure happens no earlier than in 1052.

What about Mauropous then? A departure from Constantinople after 1053 is corroborated by some of his epigrams. De Gregorio has settled the discussion raised between A. Karpozilos and A. Kazhdan about epigram 46 concerning the donation chrysobull from Constantine Monomachos to an anonymous Lavra as an argument for the presence of Mauropous in Euchaita or in Constantinople. While A. Karpozilos suggested that the Lavra in question is a monastery dedicated to Saint Theodoros built by Mauropous when he was already in Euchaita, A. Kazhdan proposed to link this chrysobull to the ones edited by the em-

49 Orationes funebres (as footnote 3 above) 3, 15–16, transl. Polemis, Psellos and the patriarchs (as footnote 8 above) 199.

50 Iohannis Euchaitorum (as footnote 6 above) 57.

51 Sathas, Μεσαιωνική Βιβλιοθήκη V (as footnote 4 above) 36; Michaelis Pselli scripta minora (as footnote 4 above) 273.

52 Orationes funebres (as footnote 3 above) 3, 12, transl. Polemis, Psellos and the patriarchs (as footnote 8 above) 194–195: "At that time, he said nothing more; he calmed down and fell back on the same grips as the wrestlers of old used. But after a short time, he reminded me of our previous thoughts and was eager to fulfill his holy purpose. However, we kept postponing the realization of our intentions. Then a second calamity struck him, and a third one, and a fourth as well. Not all arrows were shot from behind; some of them were shot at his chest, so to speak. They did not cause any harm, but the fact that he was targeted and that the arrows were shot one after the other annoyed him. When he was hit, he was reminded of his higher purpose, but when arrows ceased to be shot, he would forget it, alternating between his eagerness and then subsequent neglect."

peror for the Athos' Lavra in 1052.[53] However, as De Gregorio demonstrates, the poem actually relates to the second Typikon of the Great Lavra in Athos around 1045.[54] Fortunately, the epigram collection provides two more poems that make us think that Mauropous' appointment in Euchaita must have taken place after 1053: in epigrams 44 and 45, Mauropous congratulates Monomachos for his liturgical reform granting a daily office in Hagia Sophia, a reform that probably happened in 1053, since Skylitzes reports it just before mentioning a plague that struck the city during the summer of 1054.[55] It would make sense if Mauropous was still in Constantinople to witness the reform. Of course, some epigrams relate to posterior events, like the death of Constantine Monomachos, or are addressed to the sole Theodora, which leads Kazhdan to think that Mauropous left only under the reign of Constantine X Doukas, a conclusion that we do not share: as A. Karpozilos points out,[56] the emperor Constantine mentioned in Mauropous' epigrams and in Psellos' *Enkomion* should be identified with Monomachos and not with Constantine Doukas, which makes Theodora the last sovereign to be mentioned in the epigram collection. Should Mauropous have been in Constantinople during the reigns of Michael VI, Isaac Komnenos and Constantine Doukas, they would surely have appeared at some point in his poems. The presence of Theodora in epigram 73 does not necessarily mean that they were written under her personal reign, since she was in theory associated to the imperial power since 1042: Mauropous could celebrate a mark of personal devotion of the empress when he was still in the capital. The fact that he writes about Monomachos' death however does not automatically imply that he still lingered in the city in 1055: there is a difference of status between the epigrams most likely written under command to celebrate a given imperial action and the *epitaphioi*. News of the death of the emperor would reach Euchaita and the *epitaphioi* were a poetic genre *per se*, when one should be in Constantinople to follow the pious deeds of the sovereigns and to benefit from their celebration. More-

53 Karpozilos, Συμβολή (as footnote 9 above) 88; Kazhdan, Some problems (as footnote 27 above) *367–368*.

54 G. De Gregorio, Epigrammi e documenti. Poesia come fonte per la storia di chiese e monasteri bizantini, in C. Gastgeber / O. Kresten (eds.), Sylloge Diplomatico-Paleographica I. Studien zur byzantinischen Diplomatik und Paläographie. Vienna 2010, 29–35.

55 Ioannes Skylitzes (as footnote 15 above) 477, transl. Flusin / Cheynet (as footnote 16 above) 393–394; Kazhdan, Some problems (as footnote 27 above) 367. It should be noted however that the whole paragraph is a retrospective on what good deeds Constantine Monomachos accomplished during his reign: thus the reform could have been instaured sooner than 1053.

56 A. Karpozilos, The biography of Ioannes Mauropous again. *Hellenika* 4 (1994) 51–60: 53.

over, while the poem collection generally follows a thematic organization,[57] epigrams 44 to 48, which belong to the problematic group of epigrams 43 to 71 as pointed out by Lauxtermann and Bernard,[58] could find a chronological coherence if we consider them as works of the period immediately preceding Mauropous' departure.

If Mauropous was appointed at the see of Euchaita after 1053, he could not envisage a journey back to Constantinople before Monamachos' death on the eve of the year 1055. A bishop was not supposed to resign from his see although many did in the course of the 11th century. In the funeral oration of the metropolitan bishop John of Melitene, Psellos says twice that the bishop was admirable for assuming his Episcopal duties until the very end of his life, implying that many bishops resign before their death.[59] According to Jean Darrouzès, the *Treatise of Transfers*, which listed the transfers of bishops from one see to another, was produced to have a collection of jurisprudence in order to justify the legality of such changes.[60] The *Treatise* was not about resignation but legitimized the idea that a bishop was not bound to his diocese forever.

We do not know the legal procedure of bishop's resignation in Byzantium, whereas forced resignations are more documented.[61] However, we can find some conditions. Bishops who wished to resign had to justify their decision to the Constantinopolitan synod. In 1100, John of Antioch sent a letter to the synod when he decided to quit the patriarchal see.[62] Ten years after, Nicholas

57 M. Lauxtermann, Byzantine poetry from Pisides to Geometres I: Texts and contexts. *WBS*, 24/1. Vienna 2003, 64 – 65.

58 Bernard, Writing and Reading (as footnote 25 above) 136.

59 Orationes funebres (as footnote 3 above) 5, 1, 19 and 7, 5. John of Melitene was known for accusing before the synod the Jacobite ecclesiastical hierarchy in 1030 – 1032. He was still bishop in 1039 when he put before the synod the problem of marriages between orthodox Christians and heretics: G. Ficker, Erlasse des Patriarchen von Konstantinopel Alexios Studites. Kiel 1911, 26 – 42 = V. Grumel / J. Darrouzès, Les regestes des actes du patriarcat de Constantinople I: les actes des patriarches (381 – 1206), fasc. II et III: les regestes de 715 à 1206. Paris 1972, 839 – 840 and 846. He might have died in the 1040's or 1050's.

60 J. Darrouzès, Le traité des transferts, édition critique et commentaire. *RÉB* 42 (1984) 162 – 169. Cases were compiled since the 5th century. The *Treatise* was mainly shaped during the patriarchate of Nicholas Grammatikos (1084 – 1111).

61 B. Moulet, Évêques, pouvoir et société à Byzance (VIIIe–XIe siècle). Territoires, communautés et individus dans la société provinciale byzantine. *Byzantina Sorbonensia*, 25. Paris 2011, 331 – 346..

62 P. Gautier, Jean V l'Oxite patriarche d'Antioche. Notice biographique. *RÉB* 22 (1964) 136 – 140. As P. Gautier wrote, John of Antioch had several conflicts with the Crusaders after the siege of the city.

Mouzalon wrote a long epic poem to the synod for the same purpose.[63] Both had to present several arguments and told the synod about all the difficulties that they encountered in their diocese, which meant that the synod must ratify their resignation and could refuse it. Niketas of Ancyra wrote the most developed discourse on voluntary resignation. He began by recalling the custom of resignation in the Church, and then argued that his resignation is legal, unlike that of one of his colleagues, Hilarion of Mesembria. The former had indeed left his see without telling the synod, and had sent a letter to the synod when he was settled in his retirement place.[64] Niketas confirmed that the synod had to control the legality of a resignation case by case.

If Mauropous wanted to resign from his bishopric and return to Constantinople, he must have relied on strong support at court and at the synod. As Mauropous was more courtier than cleric before his episcopate, he should not have many supports in the synod. Thus, his friendship with Psellos, who returned quickly to court after his monastic exile,[65] must have been crucial. When did Mauropous try to return to Constantinople? The attempts of Mauropous rely on few evidence from the correspondence of Psellos. The most important document is letter KD 229 in which Psellos told Mauropous how to behave before the emperor when he would see him.

> Τίς οὗτος; ὁ γλυκύκατος ἡμῶν βασιλεὺς οὐκ ἔστιν ὁποτε μὴ τὰ σὰ λέγων καὶ διὰ θαύματος ἄγων καὶ πολλῶν ἐνίοτε σοφιστῶν τε καὶ φιλοσόφων καταμωκώμενος διὰ σέ, ὅτι σου κατόπιν παρὰ πολύ θέουσι τῶν ἐν τοῖς λόγοις κινημάτων ἀπολειπόμενοι. ὃς δὴ καὶ βουλόμενος σε ἀπὸ τῶν κυμάτων ἐπὶ τὴν γαλήνην μεταγαγεῖν καὶ ἀποδοῦναι ἑαυτῷ καὶ σαυτῷ ἐπὶ τὴν ἔχουσαν αὐτὸν πόλιν μετακαλεῖται μεθ'ὅσης εἴποις ἂν τῆς ἐπιθυμίας καὶ μεθ'οἵου τοῦ ἔρωτος· οἴεται δὲ ἐντεύξεσθαι σοι μείζονι ἢ πάλαι τεθέαται, ὅτι καὶ πᾶν χρόνου μόριον πορσθήκην σοί τινα φέρον οἴεται. σὺ δὲ εἰσεληλυθὼς ἐνταῦθα καὶ τοῦ βήματος ἐντὸς γεγονὼς δέσμησον τὰς ὀφρῦς καὶ τὸ ἦθος ἀλλοίωσον καὶ ὑποθέσεις τοῖς λόγοις μὴ ὑπόβαλε τὰ τῶν ἐπηρειῶν, τὰ τῶν ἀπαιτήσεων, ὡς ἠνίασαι καὶ ἕτοιμος φυγεῖν τὴν μητρόπολιν. ἀλλὰ μή, πρὸς Χαρίτων αὐτων, ἐπει διαφθερεῖς σαυτόν τε καὶ ἡμᾶς· ἀλλὰ πρὸς βραχὺ τὰς Χάριτας ἀνταλλαξάμενος τῶν Μουσῶν ἡδονῆς αὐτὸν εὐθὺς ὀφθεῖς πλήρωσον. [66]
>
> What am I talking about? At all times our most kind emperor is busy reading your discourses, expressing his admiration and even sometimes teasing, in order to praise you, many sophists and philosophers, who run far behind you, overwhelmed by the pace of your

63 S.I. Doanidou, Ἡ παραίτησις Νικολάου τοῦ Μουζάλωνος ἀπὸ τῆς ἀρχιεπισκοπῆς Κύπρου. Ἀνέκδοτον ἀπολογητικὸν ποίημα. *Hellenika* 7 (1934) 140. The poem was addressed to his fellow bishops (συμποίμενες).

64 J. Darrouzès, Documents inédits d'ecclésiologie byzantine. *Archives de l'Orient Chrétien*, 10. Paris 1966, 256.

65 Chronographia (as footnote 1 above) Theodora 13.

66 Michaelis Pselli scripta minora (as footnote 4 above) 229, 273.

> eloquence. Since he wants to transform on your behalf the waves into a calm sea so that you return to him, thanks to him, he will summon you to the city where he dwells with a desire greater than before, because he believes that every fragment of time brings you an occasion to grow. Therefore, once you will be there and introduced in the *bema*, do not start frowning, do not change your character and do not choose as a conversation topic the abuses and claims, or the fact that you are unhappy are and ready to flee from your metropolis. Please refrain from doing so, by the Graces, for this will not only be your ruin but also mine! But if you convert to the Graces for a while, in no time you will be seen pouring him with the pleasure of the Muses.

Psellos agreed to use his network and influence to defend Mauropous but he also told him to be very careful when he met the emperor because Psellos seemed to have a rather ambiguous position at court by that time. The letter must have been sent at a time when Psellos still had influence at court but was somehow challenged, which made him cautious about what Mauropous could say to the emperor.[67]

The letter could not have been written during the reign of Theodora. Psellos told Mauropous about an emperor, not an empress. It might not date from the reign of Michael VI because Psellos has just come back to Constantinople and has not regained his old influence by that time. Psellos reached again a good position under Isaac Komnenos and Constantine Doukas, when Leichoudes was appointed patriarch of Constantinople. This may be when Mauropous began to think about a return with the help of his psellian network, but Psellos was at first reluctant to support his old friend. When he lived at Euchaita, Mauropous could still rely on Psellos'help. Psellos urged an administrator to recalculate the land owned by a monastery Mauropous hold from his family.[68] He also neutralized some accusations against Mauropous before the synod and the emperor.[69] The two friends seemed to come into conflict when the question of Mauropous' resignation arose. Mauropous sent three letters (33, 51 and 60) to Psellos in which he accused him of having abandoned him in Euchaita. To the extent that Mauropous could have also used Leichoudes'help to return to the

67 It has been argued that the letter evokes a first short disgrace of Mauropous in the 1040's, considering that there is no allusion in this letter to the fact that Mauropous was actually a bishop when Psellos sent it (M. Lauxtermann, The intertwined lives of Michael Psellos and John Mauropous, in M. Jeffreys / M. Lauxtermann (eds.), The Letters of Psellos. Cultural networks and historical realities. Oxford 2017, 109–111). The reference to the metropolis of Mauropous in the passage shows that he was indeed bishop. Moreover, we do not have any evidence of a first disgrace.

68 Michaelis Pselli scripta minora (as footnote 4 above) 105.

69 Sathas, Μεσαιωνική Βιβλιοθήκη V (as footnote 4 above) 80.

capital, we can consider that he became more insistent towards Psellos after Leichoudes'death in 1063. This is another argument to date these letters in the second part of the reign of Constantine Doukas.

In letter 33, he addressed a speech Psellos asked him for, written by imitating the style of Psellos. Mauropous told Psellos he had imitated his tongue which spoke falsely (καταψεύδεσθαι):

> Τὰ δὲ νῦν ὡς ἐπέταξας, ἀπέσταλται τὸ σκεμμάτιον ἀπαξιοῦν μὲν ὥσπερ τὴν ἡμετέραν, τὴν δὲ σὴν μεγαλόφωνον παραμιμούμενον γλῶσσαν, ἣ συνήθειαν ἔχει τῶν τε ἄλλων πολλάκις ἐν τοῖς ὑπὲρ ἀξίαν ἐπαίνοις καὶ ἡμῶν οὐχ ἥκιστα καταψεύδεσθαι, τούτου δὴ στοχαζόμενον, ἵνα καὶ αὐτὸ μέρος δόξῃ τῶν ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν ἐν ταῖς γραφαῖς σου παραφθεγμάτων, οὕτω συντέτακται. τῷ πεφεισμένως δ' ἔχειν κἀν τούτοις. πάσης οἶμαι δικαίως διαβολῆς ἀπαλλάττεται. τὰ νομίσματα δ' ἔδει. τοσοῦτον κυϊσκόμενα χρόνον, μέγεθός τε λαβεῖν ἐν ταῖς χρονίαις ὠδῖσι, καὶ μεγάλα πάντα τεχθῆναι. ἐπεὶ δὲ τὴν μητέρα πτοούμεθα μὴ ὡς ἀσθενὴς ἐξαμβλώσῃ, τὰ μὲν τοιαῦτα τῷ χρόνῳ θαρροῦντες, τὰ δ' οὐχὶ τοιαῦτα διὰ τὴν πρὸς τὴν ὠδίνουσαν φειδὼ μαιευόμεθα. εἰ δ' ἐκείνη τὸ γόνιμον καὶ τρόφιμον ἔρρωται, τί μὴ πάντα προάξεις εἰς φῶς εὐμεγέθη, ἐπεγείρας τῇ κυούσῃ τὰ τοιαῦτα προνοίᾳ σου, τὴν θρεπτικήν τε ὁμοῦ καὶ ἀποκριτικὴν δύναμιν;[70]
>
> As of now the discourse has been dispatched to you, as you ordered, disclaiming so to say my own tongue as unworthy, and imitating instead your grandiloquent language, which is accustomed to speak falsely in your exaggerated praises not only of others but of me too. So the discourse has been composed with the aim that might appear in your writings as a part of your exaggerated statements made by you on my behalf. But by being very sparing in this respect the discourse shall be justly acquitted of any slander. Actually the payment, being in conception for such a long period, should have grown large during the long-lasting labour and the whole thing should have been born big. But since I fear for the mother lest she, weak as she, miscarry, I entrust a lengthy response to a more opportune time; the rest I shall deliver myself, because of my concern for the one who is in labour. But if the mother is strong enough to give birth and to nourish a newborn, why do you not bring all of them to light fully grown, by purposely rousing in the pregnant both the faculties of nourishing and of giving birth?

Speeches had a real value in the intellectual circles of Constantinople and were part of gift and service exchanges which participated in the promotion of intellectuals as a group.[71] What did Psellos promise to Mauropous in exchange for his speech? We do not know but it might be related with the attempt of Mauropous

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70 Transl. KARPOZILOS, The Letters of Ioannes Mauropous (as footnote 5 above) 33, 10 – 25.
71 F. BERNARD, "Greet me with words". Gifts and intellectual friendships in eleventh-century Byzantium, in M. Grünbart (ed.), Geschenke erhalten die Freundschaft. Gabentausch und Netzwerkpflege im europaischen Mittelalter. Aktes des Internationalen Kolloquiums, Munster, 19.–20. November 2009. Münster 2011, 1 – 11; F. BERNARD, Exchanging *logoi* for *aloga:* cultural capital and material capital in a letter of Michael Psellos. *BMGS* 35 (2011) 134 – 148.

to come back to Constantinople. Letter 51 dealt with the same topic. Mauropous accused Psellos of betraying him because he did not help him.[72] We have no more *realia* from letter 60 in which Mauropous said he had got nothing from his friends and especially from Psellos himself.[73] Letter KD 229 could date from the same period, that is the end of Constantine Doukas' reign as Psellos relates in the letter that the emperor knows well Mauropous and his rhetorical skills.[74] This excludes Michael Doukas who was too young to meet Mauropous at court. The emperor mentioned could be Romanos Diogenes but it is more likely that he is Constantine Doukas who studied with Psellos and might have been taught by Mauropous.[75]

Those letters could belong to the same period when Mauropous returned for a short time to Constantinople as testified in letter KD 34 of Psellos

> Καὶ εἰ βούλει, λογιώτατε πάντων ἀνδρῶν, διαμειψώμεθα τοὺς κλήρους ἀλλήλοις καὶ σὺ μὲν λάχε τὰ ἀνάκτορα, ἐγὼ δὲ τὰ Εὐχάιτα. Τί δὲ μοι τὸν μυκτῆρα; Τί δὲ σεσηρὸς ἐμειδάσας; ἔχε καὶ τὸν ποδήρη καὶ τὴν κίδαριν· οὐ γὰρ διαλλάτομαί σοι ταυτί, ἀλλὰ τὰ χωρία μόνα τῆς ἱερᾶς ἄνευ στολῆς. Ἐγὼ μὲν οὖν οὐκ οἶδα, εἴ ποτε αὐτόθι διαβὰς ἔτυχον, ἵνα ἔχω εἰδέναι, ὅπως διετέθην κατασκηνώσας. Σὺ δὲ τῆς ἐνταῦθα Ἐδὲμ οὐ πρὸ πολλοῦ πειραθείς, εἰ μὴ θᾶττον ἀπήλλαξαι, ἐτεθνήκεις ἂν ὑπὸ τῷ ζωηῤῥύτῳ φυτῷ· καὶ τῶν ἐνταῦθα σε παρεμυθεῖτο οὐδέν, καὶ ταῦτα οὔτε ὄφεώς σοί τινος προσερπύσαντος οὔτ' ἄλλου τινὸς προσβαλόντος δήγματος, ἀλλ' ἀπεδίδρασκες ὡς ἄλλο τι δεινὸν τὸν παράδεισον. Εἰ δὲ ταῦτα λῆρος, βασκαίνεις δὲ ἡμῖν τῶν ἐνταῦθα καλῶν, ἀνέῳκται σοι ὁ θεῖος λειμὼν καὶ τὸ διαβεβοημένον Ἠλύσιον, καὶ ταῦτα κάλλιον νῦν ἢ τὸ πρότερον· οὕτως γὰρ τὰ καθ' ἡμᾶς ἀῤῥήτοις εὐδόκηται κρίμασι.[76]
>
> But if you insist, brightest of all men, let us trade places: you will have the palace and I Euchaita. Ah, do I spot a sarcastic look? Is that a sardonic smile? Well, you can keep your long robe and your turban – they are not part of the bargain; I want the estates, not the sacred habit. I cannot recall whether I ever passed through your region and, therefore, do not know in what state of mind I was when sojourning there. But you, on the other hand, have recently experienced this in our garden of Eden – and had you not left in great haste, you might have died under the very tree of life. There was nothing here that pleased you, and even without a serpent in sight, sneaking up n you, or another horrific creature bothering you, you were eager to flee paradise as if it was a place of horror. But if this sounds like nonsense and you envy me for the pleasures I derive from being here, then the divine meadow and the legendary Elysium are all yours and they are even better than before! Our life here has truly been blessed in ways inscrutable.

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72 The Letters of Ioannes Mauropous (as footnote 5 above) 51.
73 The Letters of Ioannes Mauropous (as footnote 5 above) 60, 8–12.
74 Michaelis Pselli scripta minora (as footnote 4 above) 229, 273.
75 Chronographia (as footnote 1 above) VII Constantine X 7.
76 Michaelis Pselli scripta minora (as footnote 4 above) 34, 54–55; transl. Lauxtermann, The intertwined lives (as footnote 67 above) 130.

Psellos begins with an ironical exchange of places with Mauropous. He told him that he could go to Euchaita because he could not remember if the region was as unbearable as Mauropous seems to describe it in the letter to which he replied. But if Psellos could accept this change, Mauropous could not because he had just left Constantinople where he was apparently threatened with death. This text has been dated by A. Karpozilos from the time when Mauropous was appointed bishop of Euchaita, as it seems to refer to Mauropous'disgrace.[77] However, an ambiguity remains. In the last part of the letter, Psellos relates the rise of an influential woman at court, under the metaphor of a rising Moon whose identity has been debatted. E. De Vries stated that it would be a reference to the marriage of Psellos himself but it would mean that the letter dated from around 1043, which does not fit with the chronology of Mauropous'episcopate.[78] A. Karpozilos has identified the moon with the Alan princess who arrived at Constantinople around 1050 and became emperor Monomachos' concubine.[79] A third hypothesis came from A. Kazhdan and R. Anastasi and stated that the Moon might be Eudokia Makrembolitissa.[80] The two Suns ruled by the Moon according to Psellos would be the sons of Eudokia, Michael and Konstantine, or the emperor Romanos Diogenes, who married Eudokia in 1068, and Eudokia's elder son Michael, who took the imperial title between the death of his father Constantine Doukas and the marriage of Romanos and Eudokia.[81] The argument of A. Karpozilos is based on the "pair" (συζυγία) of suns, which, according to him, could only designate a married couple, that is the imperial couple Monomachos and Zoe.[82] However, Psellos had used the same word to describe different relationships than marriage, like friendship or brotherly love.[83] It would then place the drafting of the letter in 1067–1068. A. Kazhdan argued that it would prove the late appointment of Mauropous, considering that Psellos referred to his first journey to Euchaita. If we accept the datation of the letter, Mauropous'

77 The Letters of Ioannes Mauropous (as footnote 5 above) 17.
78 E. de Vries-van der Velden, La lune de Psellos. *Byzantinoslavica* 57 (1996) 244–255.
79 Karpozilos, Συμβολή (as footnote 9 above) 39–40.
80 R. Anastasi, Michele Psello al metropolita di Euchaita (Epist. 34 p. 53–56 K.-D), in R. Anastasi (ed.), Studi di filologia bizantina 4. Catane 1988, 105–120; Kazhdan, Some problems *(as footnote 27 above) 87–111*.
81 Chronographia (as footnote 1 above) VII Eudokia 2–3.
82 Karpozilos, Συμβολή (as footnote 9 above) 42–43.
83 Psellos frequently uses the term to designate close friendship, especially brotherly love as, for instance, the close relationship between Mauropous and his brother (Orationes panegyricae (as footnote 9 above) 17, 86) and Keroularios and his brother (A. R. Littlewoord, Oratoria minora. Leipzig 1985, 31, 214).

recent experience at the imperial palace corresponds to a short stay in Constantinople whose bishops were customary. One could object that the very dramatic threat of death lying upon Mauropous's head does not fit well with a short stay in the capital under the reign of Constantine Doukas or Romanos Diogenes. However, it seems to us that the mention of a possible "death" is only a pun of Psellos which jokingly resonates by contrast with the "tree of life", that is the Emperor.[84]

The KD 34 would evoke then the failure of Mauropous' first attempt to resign from the episcopate some times before 1067–1068. Psellos would refer to this particular event when he told Mauropous that the court was too perilous for him. Was Psellos involved in the failure? Anyway, by the end of Constantine Doukas'reign, Psellos's position at court was challenged again by unfortunately undocumented difficulties and he had to change his strategy towards Mauropous.

Psellos became less important at court under Romanos Diogenes and Michael Doukas and could not ignore Mauropous anymore or confront his resignation claim before the emperor. He agreed then to help him returning to the capital but still try to encourage him to stay on his see. We can also date from the same period the praise of Psellos to Mauropous. The discourse is made of many *topoi* about the Episcopal ministry[85] so the dating relies on very few evidence. Mauropous was still bishop when Psellos delivered him the praise as mentioned many times.[86] Addresses to Mauropous imply that he might have been present when Psellos delivered the speech. The praise is often dated from 1075 or after because Psellos told that he had already written praises for all his friends except Mauropous.[87] It was considered that the speech was written after the death of John Xiphilinos in 1075 when Psellos wrote his funeral oration. The allusion of the death of Psellos's friend who was patriarch, and because of

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84 On this particular metaphor, see De Vries-van der Velden, Lune (as footnote 77 above) 243.

85 Psellos made a long praise of Mauropous as defender of the interests of his city of Euchaita. Mauropous prevented tax collectors to plunder his people (Orationes panegyricae, as footnote 9 above, 17, 528 f.). However, this passage cannot be related to any concrete event. G. Merianos has demonstrated that the complaints of bishops concerning taxes are a rhetorical *topos* starting from the Church Fathers of the 4th centur: G. Merianos, Προστατεύοντας τα συμφέροντα ποιμνίου και μητρόπολης. Κατάδειξη δημοσιονομικών ατασθαλιών με αφορμή επιστολές του Ευθυμίου Μαλάκη, in Ἡ Ὑπάτη στὴν ἐκκλησιαστικὴ ἱστορία, τὴν ἐκκλησιαστικὴ τέχνη καὶ τὸν ἑλλαδικὸ μοναχισμό (Ὑπάτη, 8–10 Μαΐου 2009), ed. D. B. Gonis, Athens 2011, 273–291.

86 Orationes panegyricae (as footnote 9 above) 17, 4–6, 30–44, 630 and 765–763.

87 Ibid. 17, 13–29.

which he had delayed the composition of Mauropous'praise, is to be applied to John Xiphilinos.[88]

Interestingly, in a short digression in the *Enkomion*, Psellos defends the study of Greek, Egyptian and Chaldean philosophers, indicating that he must have had problems with it.

> Ἔγωγ' οὖν, ἵνα τι καὶ περὶ ἐμαυτοῦ τῷ τοῦ φίλου λόγῳ προσθήσω, καί με μὴ βάλοι βέλος νεμέσεως· οὐκ ἐγνώκειν μόνον ὁπόσα Ἕλληνες οὐδ' ὁπόσα Χαλδαῖοι ἢ Αἰγύπτιοι, ἀλλὰ καὶ κατεγνώκειν αὐτῶν, πλὴν οὐ πάντων, οὐδέ μοι ὁ ἔλεγχος διὰ πάντων τῶν ἐκείνοις εὑρημένων πεφοίτηκεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ πολλοῖς τῶν παρ' ἐκείνοις πρὸς τὴν ἰσχὺν τοῦ καθ' ἡμᾶς λόγου ἀπεχρησάμην. ἢ τί ποτε τῶν καθ' ἡμᾶς φιλοσόφων οἱ ἄκροι τῶν Ὠριγένους συγγραμμάτων οὐκ λάχιστον μέρος συνειλόχασι, καὶ Φιλοκαλίαν τὸ συνειλεγμένον κατωνομάκασιν, ὅτι καὶ σοφοὶ τὴν παίδευσιν ἤστην, καὶ πρὸς ἀλήθειαν πάντα καὶ λέγοντες καὶ συγγράφοντες;
>
> Τοσοῦτο δὲ παρεκβέβηκα, οὐκ αὐτὸς κομπᾶσαι βουλόμενος, ἀλλὰ τοῖς πολλοῖς ὑποθεῖναι μὴ καταμελεῖν παιδείας, μηδὲ πρόφασιν ἀμελείας καὶ ῥαθυμίας τὸν ἡμέτερον λόγον ποιεῖν· ἔσο τὰ κρείττω αὐτόθεν εἰδώς, ἀλλ' ἔνθα δεῖ καὶ συλλόγισαι, ἵνα σφενδονήσῃς ποτὲ τὸν ἀλλόφυλον· οἱ μὲν γὰρ τρεῖς λίθοι παρὰ τοῦ καθ' ἡμᾶς λόγου, ἡ δὲ τῆς σφενδόνης τέχνη καὶ παρὰ σοῦ, καὶ δέος μή πού τις ἀντισταίη ποτὲ καὶ Γολιὰθ τῷ καθ' ἡμᾶς Ἰσραήλ, εἶτα μὴ ποιμένος ἔξωθεν δεηθείημεν πρὸς τὴν τοῦ ἀλλοφύλου ἀναίρειν, καὶ ἄδηλον εἴ τίς ἐστι νῦν υἱὸς Ἰεσσαὶ ὄπισθεν τῶν λοχευομένων ἀναλαμβανόμενος καὶ πρὸς τὸν βάρβαρον ἀνταγωνιζόμενος. οὕτω τὰ Ἑλλήνην καθῄρηται, οὕτω τὰ Αἰγυπτίων ἀπεσκεύασται, οὕτω τὰ Βαβυλωνίων διέφθαρται. οὐκ ἐλέγχειν γοῦν πειρῶμαι τοὺς ἀσυλλογίστους, ἀλλὰ διδάσκειν ὅπως ἂν ἀπὸ τῶν ἐναντίων κατ' ἐκείνων τὴν μάχαιραν λάβοιεν, ὥσπερ δὴ καὶ τὸ ἐπίγραμμα τοῦ Ἀθήνησι ναοῦ κατὰ τῶν Ἀθηναίων ὁ μέγας ἀπόστολος. [89]

> As I am about to add something about me in the discourse whose object is my friend, may nobody shoot me with the Nemesis'arrow: I did not merely study the works of the Greeks, of the Chaldeans and of the Egyptians, but I also refuted them, although not completely, since my critics did not concern all of their discoveries and, on the contrary, I used many of their concepts to strengthen our own doctrine. Is it not what did our greatest philosophers gathering a tiny part of the works of Origenes, and naming that collection Philocalia, because those two wise men knew pedagogy, while still having the truth for sole purpose of all their writings and discourses?
>
> I have made a digression, not to boast, but to encourage people not to neglect education nor make our doctrine an excuse for their laziness or negligence. Knowing that what we possess is better, we must yet collect their arguments too, in order to use our sling against what belongs to the other branch of thought. The three stones come from our doctrine, but the techniques to use the sling are up to us. May a Goliath never fight back against our Israel, and may we never need a shepherd from abroad to destroy the other branch, for it is unclear whether nowadays a son of Jesse exists to hit the armies from behind and to fight against the barbarian. This was how the doctrines of the Greeks, of the

88 Cited by Karpozilos, Συμβολή (as footnote 9 above) 53. Karpozilos considers that the passage refers to Xiphilinos.

89 Orationes panegyricae (as footnote 9 above) 17, 355–383.

> Egyptians and of the Babylonians were destroyed. Thus I am not trying to blame people who do not master syllogisms, but to teach them how to turn the knife of our opponents against them, as the great apostle did with the epigram of the temple of Athens against the Athenians.

Why would Psellos be so defensive about his teaching? This passage could be an allusion to the first trial of his former pupil and successor, the consul of philosophers John Italos, in 1076/1077.[90] Psellos has always claimed his knowledge in Chaldean, Babylonian, Egyptian and Greek philosophy on which he wrote many treatises.[91] The study of philosophy was often suspected of hidden paganism and Psellos might plead his case and Italos' in the *Enkomion* for Mauropous. The praise was also a strong exhortation to Mauropous to remain on his Episcopal see when he wished to resign[92] Besides other deontologial arguments, the spectre of a trial for heresy raised by Psellos might also have been design to make Mauropous think twice about returning to Constantinople.

An allusion to Italos' first trial fits perfectly with the dating of the praise just after Xiphilinos's death. Even if the perception of age and aging in Byzantium is confused, the reference of Psellos to his old age at the very end of the *Enkomion* stands also for a draft in the 1070's. The praise had been written at the time when Psellos began to lose his rank at court and was embarrassed with the accusations against Italos. Psellos tried then to convince Mauropous to remain bishop at Euchaita because he could not block his return at Constantinople anymore. Psellos failed his attempt for Mauropous resigned during the 1070's.[93] At the second trial of John Italos, his successor Basil sat at the session of the 21st March 1082[94] when Mauropous was still alive and pronounced his speech for the creation of the feast of the Three Fathers on 30th January 1082.[95]

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90 The synodal act of the first condemnation of Italos is lost but was mentioned in the acts of his second trial in 1082 (J. Gouillard, Le procès de Jean l'Italien. Les actes et leurs sous-entendus. *Travaux et Mémoires*, 9 Paris 1985, 137 – 139 = Grumel/Darrouzès, Regestes (as footnote 58 above) 907). See also on Italos and Psellos, J. Gouillard, La religion des philosophes. *TM* 6 (1976) 305 – 324.

91 A. Kaldellis, *Hellenism in Byzantium*. Cambridge 2007, 196 – 198.

92 Orationes panegyricae (as footnote 9 above) 17, 764 f.

93 Some allusions of Turkish raids in his letters make believe that he was still in Euchaita some years after Mantzikert (Karpozilos, Συμβολή, as footnote 9 above, 48 – 49).

94 J. Gouillard, Le procès officiel de Jean l'Italien (as footnote 90 above) 139 = Grumel/Darrouzès, Regestes (as footnote 59 above) 926.

95 On that particular celebration, see H. Saradi, The three fathers of the Greek Orthodox church: Greek paideia, Byzantine innovation and the formation of modern Greek identity, in ed. I. Nilsson / P. Stephenson (eds.), Wanted Byzantium. The desire for a lost empire. Uppsala 2014, 143 – 148.

The career of Mauropous cannot be understood without taking into account the evolution of his relationship with Psellos. The former helped Mauropous to return at court twice but in different circumstances. At the beginning of the reign of Monomachos, Psellos contributed to the rehabilitation of his former teacher in disgrace after the fall of the Paphlagonian dynasty. The fall of the philosophers in the early 1050's and their departing was also to a certain extent the end of their friendship and solidarity as a group. Psellos found again a high influence at court soon after his withdrawal and took advantage of it to avoid the same fate to his friends. Mauropous was the main victim. Even if it was not a disgrace, his long stay at Euchaita was painful to him and he tried to negotiate his resignation with the help of Psellos, who was not hurry to share again his position with his old friend. As long as Psellos held a strong position at the court of Isaac Komnenos and Constantine Doukas, he made Mauropous'demands avowed. Mauropous had to wait until the reign of Michael Doukas and the decrease of Psellos'influence to get support for his resignation and obtain it.

Rudolf S. Stefec

Die Textgeschichte des *chrysobullos logos* des Alexios III. Megas Komnenos für das Kloster der Muttergottes Sumela (1364)

Abstract: The imperial charter on behalf of the Monastery of Panagia Soumela, currently at the Ayasofya Müzesi (no. 12901) in Istanbul, long considered a mere copy, is shown to be an original *chrysobullos logos* issued by the imperial chancery of Alexios III Megas Komnenos in 1364.

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Angesichts der Armut an griechischen Quellen zur Geschichte des Kaiserreiches von Trapezunt (1204 – 1461)[1] ist es bedauerlich, dass dem vorhandenen Urkundenmaterial bisher nicht die erwünschte editorische Sorgfalt zuteilwerden konnte;[2] auch macht sich das Fehlen eines Regestenwerkes der trapezuntinischen

Die vorliegende Arbeit entstand im Rahmen des Forschungsstipendiums „Literarische Quellen zur Geschichte von Trapezunt im 14. Jahrhundert“, für dessen Gewährung an dieser Stelle der Gerda Henkel Stiftung herzlicher Dank ausgesprochen sei. Für Diskussion der hier aufgestellten Thesen sowie für wertvolle Hinweise möchte der Verfasser Prof. Otto Kresten (Wien) und Hon.-Prof. Dr. Erich Lamberz (München) danken; für die Beschaffung der in Fußnote 65 zitierten, in keiner europäischen Bibliothek zugänglichen Publikation von Ş. Başeğmez sei an dieser Stelle Frau Dr. Efe Peri herzlich gedankt.

1 Siehe die Übersicht bei S.P. Karpov, История трапезундской империи. Sankt Peterburg 2007, 15 – 27 [= idem, Ιστορία της αυτοκρατορίας της Τραπεζούντας. Επιστημονική επιμέλεια M. Gkratsianski / S. Kordoses. Athen 2017, 28 – 40]; idem, История трапезундской империи. Второе издание, исправленное и дополненное. Sankt Peterburg 2017, 19 – 33 (mit der dort angeführten Literatur).

2 Vgl. F.I. Uspenskij / V.N. Beneševič, Вазелонские акты. Материалы для истории крестьянского и монастырского землевладения в Византии XIII–XV веков. Gosudarstvennaja publičnaja biblioteka v Leningrade, *Serija* V, *Orientalia* 2. Leningrad 1927 (mit der substantiellen und kritischen Besprechung durch F. Dölger in *BZ* 29 (1929/30) 329 – 344; Nachdruck in: F. Dölger, Byzantinische Diplomatik. 20 Aufsätze zum Urkundenwesen der Byzantiner. Ettal 1956, 350 – 370 [unter Angabe der ursprünglichen Paginierung]). Dieses (bedingt durch Publikationsort und Publikationsjahr) seltene Werk ist in einer Neuauflage (mit griechischer Übersetzung der russischen Einleitung) zu lesen: F.I. Uspenskij / V.N. Beneševič, Τα Acta της μονής Βαζελώνος. Στοιχεία για την ιστορία της αγροτικής και μοναστηριακής εγγείας ιδιοκτησίας στο Βυζάντιο κατά

Herrscher bemerkbar.[3] Dabei scheint die Annahme berechtigt, dass sowohl eine bessere Textgrundlage als auch eine erneute Untersuchung der Diplomatik bisher

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το 13ο–15ο αιώνα. Επιμέλεια – προλεγόμενα – προσθήκες K. K. Papulides. Thessalonike 2007 (mit umfangreichen Nachträgen auf S. 15 – 73). Die geplante Neuedition des Chartulars durch N. Panagiotakes und A. Bryer (vgl. A. Bryer, Greeks and Türkmens. The Pontic exception. *DOP* 29 (1975) 115 – 149, hier 120 mit Fußnote 16 [= A. Bryer, The Empire of Trebizond and the Pontos. London 1980, V]) ist niemals erschienen; siehe jetzt G. Mavromatis / A. Alexakis, Τα Acta της μονής Βαζελώνος στα κατάλοιπα του Ν. Μ. Παναγιωτάκη και οι προοπτικές για μια νέα έκδοσή τους, in S. Kotzabassi / G. Mavromatis (Hrsg.), Realia Byzantina. *BA*, 22. Berlin / New York 2009, 151 – 166; A. Alexakis / G. Mavromatis, Eleven documents from the *Acta* of the Monastery of St. John the Forerunner of Vazelon in Trebizond, in Th. Antonopoulou / S. Kotzabassi / M. Loukaki (eds.), Myriobiblos: essays on Byzantine literature and culture. *BA*, 29. Boston / Berlin / München 2015, 1 – 23; von den durch Mavromatis / Alexakis auf S. 153 – 166 aufgelisteten Urkunden stammen folgende Inedita möglicherweise aus der Zeit vor 1500: Nr. 35 (S. 155; Ende 13. Jh.; Zeugen Georgios Gabras, Michael Multatos; Fragment auf f. 17^{r}, Z. 1 – 3 des Petropol. gr. 743 [fehlt tatsächlich in der Edition zwischen der Urkunde Nr. 34 und 35 (S. 15 der russischen bzw. S. 199 der griechischen Ausgabe); vgl. die Tf. 3 der russischen Ausgabe bzw. die Abbildung auf S. 378 der griechischen Ausgabe]) sowie Nr. 188 – 189 (Datierung unbekannt). – Eine Ausnahme bilden die (nur kopial überlieferten) Privilegienurkunden für das Kloster τοῦ Φάρου (vgl. V. Laurent, Deux chrysobulles inédits des Empereurs de Trébizonde Alexis IV – Jean IV et David II. *Archeion Pontu* 18 (1953) 241 – 278, hier 258 – 270 [a. 1432] und 271 – 272 [a. 1460]) sowie drei Privilegienurkunden für das Athoskloster Dionysiu, vgl. N. Oikonomidès, Actes de Dionysiou. *Archives de l'Athos*, 4. Paris 1968, 50 – 61 (a. 1374), 97 – 101 (a. 1416; entgegen Oikonomidès, S. 97 – 98 mit Tf. XVIII stammt die unter B angeführte Kopie/Duplikat [„copie ancienne (officielle?)"] mit Sicherheit vom selben Schreiber wie das Original), 155 – 157 (a. 1429/60).

3 Etwa dadurch, dass eine Urkunde stets unter (möglichst vollständiger) Zitierung der jeweils letzten (oder am besten zugänglichen) Edition identifiziert werden muss. Auch werden die zahlreichen Fälschungen (vgl. die folgende Fußnote) immer wieder argumentativ eingesetzt, was im Sinne einer konsequenten Quellenkritik unzulässig ist. Vgl. etwa A. G. K. Sabbides, Τζάννοι – Τζανίτ – Τζανίκ – Τζανιχίτες: το πρόβλημα της επιβίωσης ενός καυκασιανού λαού στο βυζαντινό Πόντο των Μεγαλοκομνηνών. *Archeion Pontu* 49 (2002) 129 – 148, hier 131 mit Fußnote 7. Dieser Beitrag stützt sich zur Gänze auf A. Bryer, Some notes on the Laz and Tzan (I). *Bedi Kartlisa* 21/22 (1966) 174 – 195 [= idem, Peoples and settlement in Anatolia and the Caucasus 800 – 1900. London 1988, XIVa]; idem, Some notes on the Laz and Tzan (II). *Bedi Kartlisa* 23/24 (1967) 161 – 168 [= idem, Peoples XIVb] (vgl. jetzt auch E. Žordanija, Этнический состав населения и некоторые вопросы топонимики Понта в XIII–XV вв. Часть II: Чаны. *BSl* 60 [1999] 71 – 86, eine Arbeit, die insbesondere die historische Geographie der Region berücksichtigt) und plädiert unter Heranziehung (Zitat wie oben) des wahrscheinlich im späten 18. Jh. gefälschten *chrysobullos logos* des Kaisers Alexios III. Megas Komnenos für das Kloster des hl. Georgios τοῦ Χουτουρᾶ (laut Text a. 1365; vgl. A. Bryer / J. Isaac / D. Winfield, Nineteenth-century monuments in the city and vilayet of Trebizond: architectural and historical notes. *Archeion Pontu* 32 [1972/73] 126 – 310, hier 158 – 170 [Text auf S. 159 – 163] [mit Nachweis der Fälschung] [= A. Bryer / D. Winfield / S. Ballance / J. Isaac, The post-Byzantine monuments of the Pontos. A source book. Aldershot 2002, Part 4]; N. Oikonomides, The chancery of the Grand Komnenoi: imperial tradition and political reality. *Archeion Pontu* 35 [1978] 299 – 332, hier 304 – 305 [Fälschung]; zum Kloster vgl.

übersehene Informationen insbesondere über imperiale Ambitionen der Großkomnenen zu Tage fördern könnte.[4] Eine zentrale Rolle kommt hierbei dem im Dezember 1364 für das Kloster der Muttergottes Sumela[5] ausgestellten und mit einem Stifterporträt versehenen *chrysobullos logos* des Kaisers Alexios III. Megas Komnenos (1349 – 1390) zu; dieser gehört zu den wenigen aus der Neuzeit bekannten (hypothetischen, vgl. weiter unten in Text) Originalen einer trapezuntinischen Herrscherurkunde.[6] Der vorliegende Beitrag nimmt sich zum Ziel, dessen bewegten Schicksalen nachzugehen und den Weg für eine kritische Neuedition des Textes zu ebnen. Anders als im Falle einer klassischen Textgeschichte soll hier aus guten Gründen das mutmaßliche Original an letzter Stelle behandelt werden.

1. Das Klosterarchiv

Über das Klosterarchiv (räumlich wohl identisch mit dem sog. *skeuophylakion*) in byzantinischer Zeit sind keine direkten Nachrichten überliefert. Aus dem Text des *chrysobullos logos* (1364) geht indes hervor, dass dieses eine größere Zahl von Privat- sowie (vermutlich) Patriarchenurkunden[7] und natürlich eine Reihe von

A. Bryer / D. Winfield, The Byzantine monuments and topography of the Pontos. *DOS*, 20. Washington D.C. 1985, 310) sowie neuzeitlicher griechischer (offenbar terminologisch bewusst archaisierender) populärwissenschaftlicher Literatur (S. 148 mit Verweis auf G. K. Skalieres, Λαοὶ καὶ φυλαὶ τῆς Μικρᾶς Ἀσίας. Athen 1922 [Ndr. Athen 1990], 45, 47) dafür, dass das (wohl in mittelbyzantinischer Zeit endgültig assimilierte) Volk der Tzanen noch am Anfang des 20. Jh.s eine nennenswerte Komponente der pontischen Bevölkerung gebildet habe.

4 Vgl. Oikonomides, Chancery (wie oben Fußnote 3) (unter Anführung aller erhaltenen Urkunden und deren Editionen); dort auch der (teils bereits von älterer Forschung vorgenommene) Nachweis der Fälschungen. Zu ergänzen wären etwa die im Text der jeweiligen echten Privilegien erwähnten kaiserlichen Vorurkunden (vgl. hier Fußnote 8 – 10) sowie der *chrysobullos logos* (χρυσόβουλον [!]: Stifterinschrift) des Kaisers Alexios III. Megas Komnenos für das Kloster des hl. Laurentios am Berge Pelion (a. 1378; wohl ein *spurium*), belegt durch eine späte Stifterinschrift (möglicherweise aus dem 16. Jh.); vgl. A. Avraméa / D. Feissel, Inventaires en vue d'un recueil des inscriptions historiques de Byzance IV. Inscriptions de Thessalie (à l'exception des Météores). *TM* 10 (1987) 357 – 398, hier 385, Vers 7 (mit Hinweis auf ältere Editionen).

5 Zum Kloster siehe ausführlich Bryer/Winfield, Monuments (wie oben Fußnote 3) 254 – 255, 285 – 286 (mit der dort angeführten Literatur).

6 Vgl. die Übersicht bei Oikonomides, Chancery (wie oben Fußnote 3) 301 – 310; Text am leichtesten zugänglich bei F. Miklosich / I. Müller, Acta et diplomata Graeca medii aevi sacra et profana V. Wien 1887 (Ndr. Athen o. J.), 276 – 280 (danach hier zitiert = MM; zu dieser Edition vgl. weiter unten im Text).

7 Vgl. (a) Privaturkunden (Schenkungsurkunden) (MM V 278, 15 – 16): ἔκ τε φιλοχρίστων ἀνδρῶν χαριστικῶν τε ἅμα καὶ λεγατευτικῶν ἐγγράφων; (b) <patriarchale> (?) *sigillia* (kein korrespondierender Eintrag bei V. Grumel, Les regestes des actes du patriarcat de Constantinople. Vol. I. Les

Herrscherurkunden[8] (darunter auch ein *prostagma* der Kaiserin Eudokia <Komnene> Palaiologina)[9] enthalten haben dürfte. Da die zitierte Urkunde den einzigen anderen bezeugten, älteren *chrysobullos logos* des Kaisers Alexios II. Megas Komnenos für das Kloster der Muttergottes Sumela bestätigte,[10] war sie wohl das

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actes des patriarches. Fasc. III. Les regestes de 1043 à 1206. *Le patriarcat byzantin*, série 1. Paris 1947; V. Laurent, Les regestes des actes du patriarcat de Constantinople. Vol. I. Les actes des patriarches. Fasc. IV. Les regestes de 1208 à 1309. *Le patriarcat byzantin*, série 1. Paris 1971; J. Darrouzès, Les regestes des actes du patriarcat de Constantinople. Vol. I. Les actes des patriarches. Fasc. V. Les regestes de 1310 à 1376. *Le patriarcat byzantin*, série 1. Paris 1977) (MM V 278, 21 – 22): χαρτίων (lege: χαρτώων [vgl. weiter unten im Text]) δικαιωμάτων καὶ σιγιλλίων. Auf allgemeine Wendungen wie προανατεθέντας (MM V 279, 1), aus denen sich keine konkreten Informationen über die jeweiligen Urkundentypen gewinnen lassen, wird weder hier noch in den folgenden Anmerkungen eingegangen.

8 Vgl. (in chronologischer Reihenfolge): (a) *prostagma* des Kaisers Ioannes <II.> Megas Komnenos (PLP Nr. 12104]): Schenkung von Grundstücken im Dorfe Chara (MM V 278, 3 – 4): διὰ προσταγμάτων βασιλικῶν τοῦ τε ἀοιδίμου βασιλέως κῦρ Ἰωάννου τοῦ Μεγάλου Κομνηνοῦ, τοῦ προπάππου μου; vgl. auch MM 278, 14 – 15: ἔκ τε χρυσοβούλλων καὶ λοιπῶν προσταγμάτων βασιλικῶν; (b) Bestätigungsurkunde (<*prostagma*>) des Kaisers Basileios Megas Komnenos (PLP Nr. 12092): Bestätigung der durch Kauf und Schenkung erworbenen Liegenschaften und Paröken im *bandon* Gemora und auf den Grundstücken des *Kosma ton Alexanton* sowie andernorts (MM V 277, 24 – 29): προανατεθειμένοις (…) παρὰ τοῦ ἀοιδίμου πατρός μου, κῦρ Βασιλείου τοῦ Μεγάλου Κομνηνοῦ (siehe auch die allgemeine Formulierung oben); (c) Schenkungsurkunde (<*prostagma*>) des Kaisers <Basileios Megas Komnenos> (vgl. oben): Schenkung der Grundstücke am Ort *ton Mochlanton, ta Tzachianesia, ta Pitzelesia, <ta> Kontetesia, ta Pyrgothesia* in Diokaine sowie *<ta> Aletzesia* und *<ta> Buexikesia* (MM V 277, 30 – 32): ἀμφότερα παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ πατρός μου δωρηθέντα (siehe auch die allgemeine Formulierung oben); (d) Schenkungsurkunde (<*prostagma*>) des Kaisers Alexios <III.> Megas Komnenos [PLP Nr. 12083]): Schenkung der Grundstücke des Sokanos am Ort *ton Mochlanton* sowie des Grundstücks von dessen Neffen, dem Priester Georgios (MM V 277, 33 – 278, 1): ἀνέθετο ἐν αὐτῷ ἡ βασιλεία μου δωρεαστικῶς (siehe auch die allgemeine Formulierung oben); (e) Schenkungsurkunde (<*prostagma*>) des Kaisers Alexios III. Megas Komnenos (vgl. oben): Schenkung des Grundstücks des *megas dux* Ioannes Eunuchos im Dorfe Kintzikera (MM V 278, 6 – 8): ἀπεχαρίσατο ἡ βασιλεία μου (siehe auch die allgemeine Formulierung oben); (f) Schenkungsurkunde(n) (<*prostagma(ta)*>) des Kaisers Alexios III. Megas Komnenos (vgl. oben) (MM V 279, 1 – 2): οὓς (*sc.* Paröken) κατὰ καιρὸν ἐδωρήσατο ἡ βασιλεία μου (siehe auch die allgemeine Formulierung oben).

9 Vgl. das *prostagma* der Kaiserin Eudokia <Komnene> Palaiologina (das Epitheton Κομνηνή ist im Text der Edition irrtümlich ausgefallen; dazu vgl. weiter unten im Text) (PLP Nr. 12061]): Schenkung von Grundstücken im Dorfe Chara (MM V 278, 3 – 5): διὰ προσταγμάτων βασιλικῶν (…) τῆς ἀοιδίμου δεσποίνης τῆς προμάμμης μου, κυρίας Εὐδοκίας <Κομνηνῆς> Παλαιολογίνας τῆς πορφυρογεννήτου. Vgl. auch die in der vorigen Anmerkung zitierte allgemeine Formulierung. Es handelt sich hier vermutlich um eine Kaiserinnenurkunde *sensu stricto* (Gattin des regierenden Kaisers; vgl. F. Barišić, Повеље византийских царица. *ZRVI* 13 [1971] 143 – 202).

10 Vgl. den *chrysobullos logos* des Kaisers Alexios <II>. Megas Komnenos (PLP Nr. 12084]): Schenkung des Dorfes Dubera samt den dort sowie am Ort *tu Kuspidiu* ansässigen Paröken (MM V

überhaupt wichtigste Schriftstück des Klosterarchivs. Dadurch lässt sich erklären, warum diesem so viel Aufmerksamkeit geschenkt wurde und warum es als einziges Dokument aus byzantinischer Zeit mehrere Klosterbrände (zuletzt wohl im späten 18. Jh.) überstanden haben dürfte.[11]

278, 22 – 27. 29): ἀνετέθησαν (…) παρὰ τοῦ ἀειμνήστου βασιλέως τοῦ πάππου μου, κῦρ Ἀλεξίου τοῦ Μεγάλου Κομνηνοῦ (…) διὰ χρυσοβούλλου προσκυνητοῦ τοῦ κράτους αὐτοῦ. Vgl. auch die allgemeine Formulierung in Fußnote 8.

11 Die ältesten Druckwerke mit Bezug auf die Geschichte des Klosters aus den 60er und 70er Jahren des 18. Jh.s erwähnen noch „χρυσόβουλλα" (Mehrzahl), die im *skeuophylakion* des Klosters aufbewahrt werden; diese Nachricht wird von Fallmerayer (vgl. weiter unten) indirekt bestätigt. Zum Zeugnis der Druckwerke vgl. (a) Metaxopulos (a. 1768; wie unten Fußnote 24), S. με΄–μς΄ (Ndr. S. 232): διὰ τὸ ἐν αὐτῇ σώζεσθαι (…) τὰ Βασιλικὰ Χρυσόβουλλα τῶν Κομνηνῶν; S. ξ΄ (Ndr. S. 237): κατὰ τὰ Χρυσόβουλλα <,> ἃ ἔχουσιν οἱ Πατέρες τῶν Κομνωνῶν Βασιλέων; dabei ist darauf hinzuweisen, dass Metaxopulos (zu ihm vgl. weiter unten in Fußnote 23) als Mönch des Klosters Sumela aus erster Hand über den Bestand an Urkundenmaterial informiert war; (b) Kausokalybites/Metaxopulos (a. 1775; wie unten Fußnote 28), S. 40 (Ndr. S. 222): οἱ Μεγάλοι, λέγω, Κομνηνοί, ἀλληλοδιαδόχως ἐδωρήσαντο (…) ἐν οἷς ἐπέδωκαν Χρυσοβούλλοις (mit Fußnote 3: Ἅτινα πάντα φυλάσσονται ἐν τῇ Μονῇ); S. 42 mit Fußnote 5 (Ndr. S. 225): Πάντων τούτων τῶν Βασιλέων τε, καὶ Αὐθεντῶν Χρυσόβουλλα σώζονται ἐν τῷ σκευοφυλακίῳ τῆς ἱερᾶς ταύτης Μονῆς, μέχρι τοῦ νῦν, 1775. ἔτους. Vgl. auch das Zeugnis des Patriarchen von Jerusalem Dositheos weiter unten in Fußnote 14. – Hingegen fand Jakob Philipp Fallmerayer († 1861) bei seinem Besuch im Kloster 1840 nur noch den *chrysobullos logos* des Jahres 1364 (und dessen Kopien) vor, vgl. J. Ph. Fallmerayer, Original-Fragmente, Chroniken, Inschriften und anderes Materiale zur Geschichte des Kaiserthums Trapezunt I. *Abh. der hist. Classe der königl. bayer. Akad. Wiss.* III/3 (1842) 1 – 159, hier 49 – 50: „Von den vielen Goldbullen, die man von verschiedenen Prinzen des Comnenischen Kaiserhauses vor siebzig Jahren noch im Archive aufbewahrte, wurde im letzten Klosterbrande, wie die Mönche sagen, diese einzige noch gerettet". In seinen „Fragmenten" vermerkte er die Auskunft, die er diesbezüglich von den Mönchen erhielt (vgl. J. Ph. Fallmerayer, Fragmente aus dem Orient. Stuttgart/Tübingen 1845 [Ndr. München 1963] I 174): „Es möge früher an dergleichen Dingen größerer Ueberfluß gewesen seyn, aber in zweimaliger Einäscherung des Klosters sey bis auf unbedeutende Reste Alles zu Grunde gegangen und namentlich von den Goldbullen nur eine, allerdings die wichtigste mit dem Rechtstitel ihrer Besitzungen und Privilegien erhalten worden". Zur Aufbewahrung bemerkt er (Fallmerayer, Original-Fragmente, wie oben, 50): „(…) in einer Metallkapsel eingeschlossen und mit den übrigen Kleinodien in einer innerhalb der Grottenkapelle im lebendigen Felsen ausgemeisselten, wohlverwahrten und dem Feuer unzugänglichen Kammer niedergelegt"; vgl. auch Fallmerayer, Fragmente (wie oben) 174: „Die Bücher und Handschriften seyen in einer Felsenkammer ober dem Tempeldach aufbewahrt (…) die Goldbulle aber sey im Innern der Kapelle selbst hinterlegt (…)". Im Klosterarchiv wurden auch zahlreiche Firmane der osmanischen Herrscher sowie patriarchale *sigillia* (sämtlich aus der Zeit nach 1500) aufbewahrt; hierzu vgl. Kyriakides, Ἱστορία (wie unten Fußnote 33) 80 – 83, 88 – 89 sowie 83 – 88, 93 – 109. Zwei von diesen wurden bereits von Kausokalybites/Metaxopulos (a. 1775; wie unten Fußnote 28) auf S. 53 – 54 in Paraphrase wiedergegeben, nämlich die Privilegien der Fürsten von Walachei Ioannes Stephanos Michael Rhakobitza [= Ştefan Racoviţa, 1764/65] (datiert 16. 11. 1764; linke Spalte) und der Moldau Ioannes Skarlatos Gkikas (datiert 10. 11. 1755 [so die Edition]; rechte Spalte) [= Ioan Alexander Scarlat Ghică; 1757/58] (zu diesen Dokumenten

2. Kopiale Überlieferung

Die erste Spur des *chrysobullos logos*[12] finden wir in einer nicht datierten neugriechischen Paraphrase des Textes aus der Feder des Sebastos Trapezuntios Kyminetes (†1702), eines aus dem Dorf Kymina in der Nähe von Trapezunt stammenden prominenten Vertreters der griechischen Aufklärung und Gründers der renommiertesten griechischen Bildungseinrichtung im Pontosgebiet, des Gymnasiums in Trapezunt („Φροντιστήριον Τραπεζοῦντος").[13] Dass Kyminetes direkt mit dem mutmaßlichen Original der Urkunde gearbeitet hat, beweist der Umstand, dass er auch den (in keiner der späteren Editionen der Urkunde ausgewiesenen) Dorsalvermerk transkribiert hat. Von seiner (bisher unedierten) Übersetzung waren mindestens fünf Überlieferungsträger bekannt, deren Besonderheit darin liegt, dass sie zugleich auch den Urtext tradierten.

Athen, Βυζαντινὸ καὶ Χριστιανικὸ Μουσεῖο, Signatur Κ. Πρ. 99. Es handelt sich um eine von dem Patriarchen von Konstantinopel Iakobos und der *synodos endemusa* beglaubigte Doppelkopie (linke Spalte: Original; rechte Spalte: neugriechische Paraphrase des Sebastos Kyminetes) mit Zierinitialen (aber ohne Nachzeichnung des Stifterporträts); die Beglaubigung lautet: † Ἰάκωβος ἐλέῳ θεοῦ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος | Κων(σταντινου)πόλ(εως) νέ(ας) Ῥώμ(ης) κ(αὶ) οἰκουμενικὸς (πατ)ριάρχ(ης) | ἶσον εἶναι τοῦ χρυσοβούλου βεβαιοῖ. Diese Doppelkopie lässt sich gegen Februar 1680 datieren, da anzunehmen ist, dass sie im Zusammenhang mit einem zum genannten Datum ausgestellten *sigilliodes gramma* des Patriarchen

vgl. ferner die Angaben in Fußnote 59). Beide liefern einen interessanten Beleg für die Zirkulation von Abschriften des hier behandelten *chrysobullos logos* des Jahres 1364 in den Donaufürstentümern des 18. Jh.s; vgl. die Paraphrase bei Kausokalybites/Metaxopulos (wie unten Fußnote 28) 54: ὡς καὶ ἐκ τοῦ ἰδίου αὐτοῦ χρυσοβούλλου δῆλον (Urkunde des Ioan Alexander Ghică); καθῶς εἶναι φανερὸν καὶ ἀπὸ τὸ ἴδιον του χρυσόβουλλον (Urkunde des Ştefan Racoviţa). Die einzige Bestandsaufnahme des Archivs (basierend auf einem Aufenthalt im Kloster im Jahre 1884) stammt von A. Papadopulos-Kerameus, Ἑλληνικοὶ κώδικες ἐν τῇ βιβλιοθήκῃ τῆς μονῆς Σουμελᾶ. *VV* 19 (1912) 282 – 327, hier 310 – 313; zu dieser (für unsere Argumentation wichtigen) Publikation vgl. weiter unten im Text.

12 Die Möglichkeit, dass der *chrysobullos logos* als Vorurkunde in einem anderen, späteren *trapezuntinischen* Privileg erwähnt wurde, lässt sich nicht mehr überprüfen, da von dem älteren Urkundenmaterial des Klosters Sumela nur dieses einzige Stück (vgl. oben Fußnote 11) überliefert wurde. Zur Erwähnung in späteren Privilegien der Herrscher der Donaufürstentümer im 18. Jh. vgl. ebenfalls oben Fußnote 11.

13 Zu ihm vgl. Ch. Karanasios, Sebastos Trapezuntios Kyminetes (1632 – 1702). Biographie, Werkheuristik und die editio princeps der Exegese zu *De virtute* des Pseudo-Aristoteles. *Serta Graeca*, 10. Wiesbaden 2001, 190 (Nr. 72 des Werkkatalogs).

angefertigt wurde, in dem erwähnt wird, dass dem Aussteller der *chrysobullos logos* zur Bestätigung vorgelegt wurde.[14] Sie wurde im Kloster Sumela aufbewahrt und konnte bei der Auflösung der Klostergemeinschaft im Jahre 1923 nach Griechenland gerettet werden.[15]

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14 Letztgenannte Urkunde verzeichnet bei Papadopulos-Kerameus, Ἑλληνικοὶ κώδικες (wie oben Fußnote 11) 312; Text bei Kyriakides, Ἱστορία (wie unten Fußnote 33) 97 – 101 (Zusatz [vgl. weiter unten] 101 – 103), hier 97: τὰ νῦν ἐνεφανίσθησαν ἡμῖν παλαιγενῆ τῶν ὀρθοδόξων βασιλέων εὐεργετήρια χρυσόβουλα (!); χρυσόβουλα (!) σεπτὰ τῶν εὐσεβῶν βασιλέων; ferner S. 99: σεπτὰ τῶν εὐσεβῶν βασιλέων χρυσόβουλα (!); τοῖς χρυσοβούλοις (!). Diese Urkunde ist im Februar 1680 datiert und von dem Patriarchen von Konstantinopel Iakobos (1679 – 1688, mit Unterbrechungen) sowie dem Patriarchen von Alexandreia Parthenios (1678 – 1688) unterzeichnet. Es folgt ein nicht datierter (hierzu vgl. weiter unten) Zusatz, unterfertigt von den Patriarchen von Jerusalem Dositheos (1669 – 1707) und Chrysanthos (Notaras, 1707 – 1731) und den Mitgliedern der *synodos endemusa*, also in Konstantinopel. In diesem Zusatz erwähnt Patriarch Dositheos seinen Besuch im Kloster Sumela sowie die dort aufbewahrten Urkunden; Text bei Kyriakides, Ἱστορία (wie unten Fußnote 33) 101 – 103, hier 101: (…) βασιλικὰ χρυσόβουλα (!) τῶν τε ἀειμνήστων αὐτοκρατόρων τῶν Κομνηνῶν καὶ ἄλλων πολλῶν βασιλέων Ῥωμαίων, ἐκεῖσε ἐν τῇ διαληφθείσῃ μονῇ Σουμελᾶ σωματικῶς ἡμεῖς ἐπιδημήσαντες εἴδομέν τε καὶ ἀκριβῶς ἀναγνόντες (…). Zum Besuch des Patriarchen von Jerusalem Dositheos im Pontos vgl. K.-P. Todt, Dositheos II. von Jerusalem, in C. G. Conticello / V. Conticello (dir.), La théologie byzantine et sa tradition II (XIIe–XIXe s.). *CC, Claves/Subsidia*, 2/2. Turnhout 2002, 659 – 711 (mit reichhaltiger Bibliographie), hier 665 – 666 (a. 1681); kurze Erwähnung des Besuchs im Kloster Sumela bei Dositheos (Hierosolymon), Ἱστορία περὶ τῶν ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις πατριαρχευσάντων (…). Bukarest 1715, 1230 [= É. Legrand †, Bibliographie hellénique ou description raisonnée des ouvrages par des Grecs au dix-huitième siècle. Œuvre posthume complétée et publiée par L. Petit / H. Pernot. Paris 1918 – 1928, hier I 120 – 122 (Nr. 97)]. Auf die Einsicht ins Urkundenmaterial des Klosters kommt Dositheos noch einmal in einem von ihm ausgestellten *sigillion* zu sprechen (a. 1682); Text bei Kyriakides, Ἱστορία (wie unten Fußnote 33) 106 – 109, hier 108: τὰ τῶν πάλαι ἀοιδίμων βασιλέων εὐεργετήρια χρυσόβουλα (!) θεασάμενος, τῶν Κομνηνῶν ἐκείνων (…). – Die Beschreibung einer bestätigten Kopie durch Fallmerayer anlässlich seines Besuchs (a. 1840) passt weder zu der von Kyriakides abgedruckten obigen Urkunde (die nicht den Text des *chrysobullos logos* wiedergibt) noch zu der in Athen aufbewahrten Kopie (da diese lediglich vom Patriarchen von Konstantinopel Iakobos und den Mitgliedern der *synodos endemusa* unterfertigt ist), und auch nicht zu der in Istanbul aufbewahrten Doppelkopie des Jahres 1688; zu dieser siehe weiter unten im Text. Vgl. Fallmerayer, Original-Fragmente (wie oben Fußnote 11) 50: „(…) einer von den vier Patriarchen des Orients und vielen andern Kirchenfürsten durch eigenhändigen Namenszug beglaubigten Doppelcopie in Cursivschrift“; Fallmerayer, Fragmente (wie oben Fußnote 11) 185: „eine von den vier Patriarchen des Orients und anderen Kirchenfürsten eigenhändig beglaubigte Doppelkopie in gewöhnlicher Cursivschrift (…) vidimierte Kopie (…)“. Von derselben Kopie wie Fallmerayer berichtete auch A. Papadopulos-Kerameus in einem Brief an S. Lampros, vgl. S. P. Lampros, Τὸ ἐκ τῆς μονῆς Σουμελᾶ Τραπεζουντιακὸν χρυσόβουλλον. *NE* 4 (1907) 243 – 244, hier 244.

15 G. Sotiriou, Guide du Musée byzantin d’Athènes. Avec avant-propos sur la sculpture et sur la peinture byzantine en Grèce. Édition française d’après la 2e édition grecque traduite par O. Merlier. Athen 1932, 153 (Nr. 37); Chrysanthos (Trapezuntos), Ἡ ἐκκλησία Τραπεζοῦντος.

Istanbul, Ayasofya Müzesi, Inventarnr. 12903. Es handelt sich um eine zweite Doppelkopie, die im Jahre <1688> vom Patriarchen von Konstantinopel Kallinikos <II.> sowie von der *synodos endemusa* bestätigt wurde; im Gegensatz zur ersten Kopie enthält sie eine Nachzeichnung des Stifterporträts.[16]

Kos, Bibliothek der Metropolis, Codex Nr. 2, ff. 313^r–324^r. Diese Handschrift überliefert verschiedene Werke des Sebastos Trapezuntios Kyminetes und wurde im betreffenden Teil am Anfang des 18. Jahrhunderts von <Nikolaos Karatzas> geschrieben.

Hierosolymit. Sancti Sepulcri 276, ff. 143^v–146^v, geschrieben wahrscheinlich von der Hand des Patriarchen von Jerusalem Dositheos.[17]

Archeion Pontu 4/5 (1933) (Ndr. Athen 1973) 476, mit Abb. 64 vor S. 473 (Facsimile der Unterschriften); D. I. Pallas, Κατάλογος χειρογράφων τοῦ Βυζαντινοῦ Μουσείου Ἀθηνῶν. Μέρος τρίτον. Athen 1955, 91; eine Teilabbildung bei A. A. Koltsida, Οι σχέσεις των Μεγάλων Κομνηνών με την Ἐκκλησία της Τραπεζουΰντας (1204 – 1461). Thessalonike 2005, Abb. 34 auf S. 149 (ohne Quellenangabe, jedoch offenbar nach Chrysanthos); sehr gute Teilabbildung bei A. Mellas, Τραπεζούς. Στα ίχνη των Μεγάλων Κομνηνών. Athen o. J. (ca. 2008/9), I 340; eine vollständige Abbildung in sehr guter Qualität jetzt bei B. S. Charalampidu, Ιερά βασιλική πατριαρχική και σταυροπηγιακή μονή Παναγίας Σουμελά Πόντου. Thessalonike 2009, 131 – 134. Von den mitunterzeichnenden Mitgliedern der *synodos endemusa* sind die meisten bei G. Fedalto, Hierarchia Ecclesiastica Orientalis. Series episcoporum ecclesiarum christianarum orientalium I. Patriarchatus Constantinopolitanus. Padua 1988 nicht belegt und tragen somit zu einer präziseren Datierung der Kopie kaum bei.

16 Vgl. Kyriakides, Ἱστορία (wie unten Fußnote 33), S. ιθ΄: τὸ πρωτότυπον δὲν διασώζεται ἐν τῇ Μονῇ, ἀντίγραφα ὅμως τούτου, γενόμενα ἐπίσης ἐν χρόνοις παλαιοτέροις, ὑπάρχουσι πλείονα τοῦ ἑνός; Abbildung bei Başeğmez, Fermanları (wie unten Fußnote 65) 16, 18 und 20 (Miniatur, Teil des Textes, Unterschriften) (mit Datierung ins 19. Jh.); Charalampidu, Μονή (wie oben Fußnote 15) 135 (nicht beschriftete Abbildung oben rechts). Zur Miniatur vgl. weiter unten im Text. Auch wenn die Schriftproben nicht sehr aussagekräftig sind und die postbyzantinische Paläographie noch nicht hinreichend erforscht ist (nach wie vor fehlt ein umfangreicheres Album mit datierten Beispielen), lässt sich erkennen, dass die Datierung dieser Kopie ins 19. Jh. kaum vertretbar ist. Diese kann hingegen recht präzise durch Identifizierung der unterschreibenden Prälaten festgestellt werden. Der unterschreibende Patriarch von Konstantinopel ist Kallinikos, was auf Kallinikos II. (1688, 1689 – 1693, 1694 – 1702), Kallinikos III. (1757) oder Kallinikos IV. (1801 – 1806, 1808 – 1809) schließen lässt; der Name des Metropoliten von Ephesos, Theophanes (1688 – 1704; vgl. Fedalto, Hierarchia Ecclesiastica, wie oben Fußnote 15, 116) ermöglicht es, den Zeitraum auf die Amtsjahre des erstgenannten Patriarchen einzugrenzen; als Metropolit von Larissa unterschreibt Parthenios, dessen Nachfolger Dionysios bereits 1688 belegt ist (Fedalto, Hierarchia, wie oben, 459). Daher gehört das Dokument in die erste Amtszeit des Patriarchen Kallinikos II. (März bis November 1688).

17 Vgl. S. P. Lampros, Ἑλληνικὰ χειρόγραφα ἐν τῇ νήσῳ Κῷ. *NE* 3 (1906) 482 – 485 (als Nr. 4; Transkription des Dorsalvermerks); L. Polites, Συνοπτικὴ ἀναγραφὴ χειρογράφων ἑλληνικῶν

Olim Trapezunt, Phrontisterion Nr. 19, ff. 3^r^–13^v^ (heutiger Verbleib unbekannt). Die Handschrift enthielt Werke des Sebastos Trapezuntios Kyminetes, darunter auch den *chrysobullos logos* samt neugriechischer Paraphrase.[18]

Olim Privatbibliothek des Athanasios Papadopulos-Kerameus, Codex B (Ende 17. Jh.), ff. 26^v^–36^r^ (Verbleib unbekannt).[19]

Bekannt ist ferner eine späte, lose Kopie, heute im Ayasofya Müzesi in Istanbul, Inventarnr. 12901,[20] sowie eine ebenfalls späte Abschrift im ehemaligen Codex der Metropolis Argyrupolis (Gümüşhane), die heute im Benaki-Museum aufbewahrt wird (Nr. Ταμεῖο Ἀνταλλαξίμων 327, pp. 241–244, unter Kennzeichnung der Rotworte).[21] Die späte Abschrift in einem Sammelcodex des Professor Rhalles in Athen scheint ebenfalls verschollen zu sein.[22]

συλλογῶν. *Hellenika, Parartema* 25. Thessalonike 1976, 80; Karanasios, Kyminetes (wie oben Fußnote 13) 82–83, 283–288 (ausführliche Beschreibung, Zuweisung des betreffenden Teils der Handschrift an Nikolaos Karatzas und Transkription des Dorsalvermerks auf S. 288); zum Kopisten vgl. wenigstens L. Polites / M. Polite, Βιβλιογράφοι 17ου–18ου αἰῶνα. Συνοπτικὴ Καταγραφή. *Deltio tu Historiku kai Palaiographiku Archeiu* 6 (1988/92) 313–645, hier 582; weitere Bibliographie bei D.G. Apostolopulos, Ἁρμογὴ σπαραγμάτων. Νεότερα γιὰ τὴ βιβλιοθήκη Νικολάου καὶ Κωνσταντίνου Καρατζᾶ. *Ho Eranistes* 29 (2016) 89–132. – A. Papadopulos-Kerameus, Ἱεροσολυμιτικὴ βιβλιοθήκη ἤτοι κατάλογος τῶν ἐν ταῖς βιβλιοθήκαις τοῦ ἁγιωτάτου ἀποστολικοῦ τε καὶ καθολικοῦ ὀρθοδόξου πατριαρχικοῦ θρόνου τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων καὶ πάσης Παλαιστίνης ἀποκειμένων ἑλληνικῶν κωδίκων I. Sankt Peterburg 1891 (Ndr. Brüssel 1963) 333–353, hier 345; zum Kopisten vgl. Polites/Polite, Βιβλιογράφοι (wie oben) 430.

18 A. Papadopulos-Kerameus, Ἑλληνικοὶ κῶδικες Τραπεζοῦντος. *VV* 19 (1912) 224–281, hier 237–238; Karanasios, Kyminetes (wie oben Fußnote 13) 99. Zu den bisher lokalisierten Codices dieser Bibliothek vgl. R.S. Stefec, Aspekte griechischer Buchproduktion in der Schwarzmeerregion. *Scripta* 7 (2014) 205–233, hier Fußnote 23 auf S. 222 (mit der dort genannten Literatur); dort nachzutragen A. Binggeli / M. Cassin / V. Kontouma, Inventaire des manuscrits de l'Institut français d'études byzantines. *REB* 72 (2014) 5–128 (wo jedoch Codex Nr. 19 nicht aufscheint).

19 Lampros, Τραπεζουντιακὸν χρυσόβουλλον (wie oben Fußnote 14) 243–244; Karanasios, Kyminetes (wie oben Fußnote 13) 105–106 (mit weiterer Literatur zu diesem heute offenbar nicht lokalisierbaren Codex). Zum Nachlass von A. Papadopulos-Kerameus in St. Peterburg vgl. I.P. Medvedev, A.И. Пападопуло-Керамевс: „Петербургские ночи" ученого грека (по неизданным документам и письмам), in I.P. Medvedev (Hrsg.), Рукописное наследие русских византинистов в архивах Санкт Петербурга. Sankt Peterburg 1999, 289–335.

20 Siehe das Zeugnis von Kyriakides (zitiert in Fußnote 16); eine stark verkleinerte Abbildung bei Charalampidu, Μονή (wie oben Fußnote 15) 135 (nicht beschriftete Abbildung unten rechts).

21 Zu diesem vgl. A. Papadopulos-Kerameus, Ὁ τελευταῖος Κομνηνὸς κατ' ἔγγραφον ἐπίσημον τοῦ μητροπολίτου Ἡρακλείας Νεοφύτου (1695). *Deltion tes Historikes kai Ethnologikes Hetaireias tes Hellados* 2 (1885) 667–679; idem, Über ein Chrysobull von Trapezunt. *Sitzungsberichte der philos.-philol. und hist. Classe der königlich bayer. Akad. Wiss.* 4 (1886) [1887] 299–303; Kyriakides, Ἱστορία (wie unten Fußnote 33) 116 mit Fußnote 1; Oikonomides, Chancery (wie oben

3. Textausgaben

Metaxopulos (1768). – Die „Διδασκαλία Χριστιανική“ betitelte zweisprachige Publikation (Griechisch/Türkisch [„καραμανλίδικα“]) des Archimandriten Parthenios Metaxopulos, Mönchs im Kloster der Muttergottes Sumela († 1769 [?]),[23] wurde im Jahre 1768 in Bukarest veröffentlicht.[24] Sie enthält auf S. με´–ξβ´ eine kurze

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Fußnote 3) 304 (unter Angabe der Rotworte); B. Chatzopulu, Κατάλογος ἑλληνικῶν χειρογράφων τοῦ Μουσείου Μπενάκη (16ος–20ὸς αἰῶνας). Athen 2017, 669 – 671.

22 K. Zachariä von Lingenthal, Über ein trapezuntinisches Chrysobull. *Sitzungsberichte der philos.-philol. und hist. Classe der königlich bayer. Akademie Wiss.* 1 (1881) 292 – 297, hier 293; zu diesem Codex vgl. ferner M. Deffner, Zwei kaiserliche Goldbullen. *Archiv für mittel- und neugriechische Philologie* 1 (1880) 153 – 166; P. Lemerle, À propos de la fondation du monastère de Kutloumous, un faux chrysobulle d'Alexis III, empereur de Trébizonde. *BCH* 58 (1934) 221 – 234, hier 233 mit Fußnote 2.

23 Nicht bei G. Podskalsky, Griechische Theologie in der Zeit der Türkenherrschaft (1453 – 1821). Die Orthodoxie im Spannungsfeld der nachreformatorischen Konfessionen des Westens. München 1988 [= idem, Ἡ ἑλληνικὴ θεολογία ἐπὶ Τουρκοκρατίας 1453 – 1821. Ἡ ὀρθοδοξία στὴ σφαῖρα ἐπιρροῆς τῶν δυτικῶν δογμάτων μετὰ τὴ μεταρρύθμιση. Μετάφραση G. D. Metallenos. Athen 2005]; ein kurzer biographischer Abriss bei E. Th. Kyriakides, Βιογραφίαι τῶν ἐκ Τραπεζοῦντος καὶ τῆς περὶ αὐτὴν χώρας ἀπὸ τῆς Ἁλώσεως μέχρις ἡμῶν ἀκμασάντων λογίων μετὰ σχεδιάσματος ἱστορικοῦ περὶ τοῦ ἑλληνικοῦ φροντιστηρίου τῶν Τραπεζουντίων. Athen 1897 (Ndr. Athen 1984), 129 – 131 (basierend fast ausschließlich auf indirekten Nachrichten der Ausgabe Kausokalybites/Metaxopulos, wie unten Fußnote 28; Todesdatum nach Kyriakides, doch scheint dieses einigermaßen zweifelhaft).

24 Διδασκαλία χριστιανικὴ τῆς ὀρθοδόξου ἡμῶν πίστεως. Περιέχουσα τὰ ἀναγκαιότερα Ἄρθρα· Τὰ ὁποῖα κάθε Χριστιανὸς ἔχει χρέος νὰ ἠξεύρῃ διὰ νὰ σωθῇ. Καὶ μάλιστα οἱ Παιδαγωγοὶ ὀφείλουσι νὰ διδάσκουσι δι' Ἐρωταποκρίσεως τὰ τῶν Χριστιανῶν παιδία. Ἐπὶ τῆς Θεοστηρίκτου Ἡγεμονείας Τοῦ Ὑψηλοτάτου ἡμῶν Αὐθέντου, κ(αὶ) Ἡγεμόνος πάσης Οὐγγροβλαχίας κυρίου κυρίου Ἰωάννου Ἀλεξάνδρου Σκαρλάτου Γκίκα βοεβόδα. Ἀρχιερατεύοντος τοῦ Πανιερωτάτου Μητροπολίτου Ἁγίου Οὐγγροβλαχίας Κυρίου Κυρίου Γρηγορίου. Νῦν Πρῶτον τυπωθεῖσα Δίγλωττος, εἰς Ἁπλὴν Ῥωμαϊκὴν Γλῶσσαν, κ(αὶ) Τουρκικήν. Ἐν τῇ Νέᾳ Τυπογραφίᾳ τοῦ Ὀρθοδόξου Γένους τῶν Ῥωμαίων, Τῇ συσταθείσῃ ὑπὸ τὴν Ἔκλαμπρον Ἡγεμονικὴν Προστασίαν καὶ ὑπεράσπισιν τῆς αὐτοῦ Ὑψηλότητος. Bukarest 1768. Vgl. Legrand, Bibliographie hellénique (wie oben Fußnote 14) II 71 – 73 (Nr. 674); S. Salaville / E. Dalleggio, Karamanlidika. Bibliographie analytique d'ouvrages en langue turque imprimés en caractères grecs, I. 1584 – 1850. *Collection de l'Institut français d'Athènes*, 47. Athen 1958, 43 – 48 (Nr. 11) mit Tf. XI. (vgl. http://anemi.lib.uoc.gr/metadata/7/b/7/metadata-155-0000128.tkl). Die Autorschaft des Metaxopulos geht erst aus dem (hier nicht transkribierten) türkischen Titelblatt hervor, wo ab der dritten Zeile von unten folgender Text zu lesen ist: Σουμελᾶ Παναγίανην Ἀζὴμ Πατισσαχλὴκ Μοναστηρινὴν Τζεμαετηντὲν ὁλᾶν Παρθένιος Ἱερομόναχος Μεταξόπουλοσταν [= „traduit maintenant pour la première fois de l'idiome grec populaire en langue turque par l'hiéromoine Parthénios Métaxopoulos, de la communauté du vénérable monastère impérial de la Panagia de Souméla“, zitiert nach Salaville/ Dallegio, Karamanlidika (wie oben) 44 – 45]. Kurze Bemerkungen zu dieser Edition bei S. Eyice,

Geschichte des Klosters Sumela, in der auf S. νς′–νη′ Passagen aus dem *chrysobullos logos* in neugriechischer und türkischer Paraphrase wiedergegeben sind.[25] Diese ist sehr frei und daher textkritisch von keinerlei Wert, gibt jedoch wenigstens Teile des Textes sinngemäß wieder und weist ausdrücklich auf die Vorurkunden hin (S. νζ′).

Kausokalybites/Metaxopulos (1775). – Auf der Basis der von Akakios Sabbaïtes im 13. Jh. verfassten Gründungsgeschichte des Klosters Sumela[26] hat Parthenios Metaxopulos Material zu einer Akoluthie der beiden legendären Klostergründer Barnabas und Sophronios vorbereitet und wollte diese zusammen mit weiteren Texten zur Geschichte des Klosters drucken lassen; an der Fertigstellung seines Vorhabens wurde er jedoch offenbar gehindert. Die Überarbeitung und Drucklegung der Unterlagen übernahm im Jahre 1770 Neophytos Kausokalybites († 1784).[27] Das Werk wurde schließlich im Jahre 1775 in Leipzig publiziert[28] und enthält auf

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Trabzon yakınında Meryem Ana (Sumela) manastırı. *Belleten* 30 (1966) 243 – 264, hier 252 mit Fußnote 20, sowie bei C. C. Giurescu, Les relations des pays roumains avec Trébizonde aux XIVe–XIXe siècles. *Revue Roumaine d'Histoire* 13/2 (1974) 239 – 246, hier 245 – 246.

25 Der Titel dieses kurzen Textes lautet: Ἱστορία περὶ τῆς σεβασμίας βασιλικῆς κ(αὶ) πατριαρχικῆς μονῆς, τῆς Παναγίας τοῦ Σουμελᾶ Ὡραία Διήγησις; erneut abgedruckt bei O. Lampsides / F. Marinescu, Δύο προγενέστεραι τῆς „Διασκευῆς“ μορφαὶ τοῦ Ἱστορικοῦ τῆς Ἱδρύσεως τῆς Μονῆς Σουμελᾶ II. *Archeion Pontu* 41 (1985) 230 – 239, Text auf S. 232 – 238 (unter Angabe der ursprünglichen Paginierung; nach einem Exemplar in Bukarest, <Bibliotecă Academiei Române>).

26 Zu Akakios Sabbaïtes vgl. zuletzt die ausführliche Behandlung bei A. Giannouli, Die beiden byzantinischen Kommentare zum Großen Kanon des Andreas von Kreta. Eine quellenkritische und literarhistorische Studie. *WBS*, 26. Wien 2007, 48 – 101 (mit der dort genannten älteren Literatur); A.-M. Talbot, A unique saint's life of the early thirteenth century: Akakios Sabbaites' Vita of Saints Barnabas and Sophronios, in A. Ödekan / E. Akyürek / N. Necipoğlu (eds.), First International Sevgi Gönül Byzantine Studies Symposium. Change in the Byzantine World in the twelfth and thirteenth Centuries. Proceedings. Istanbul 2010, 57 – 62.

27 Nicht bei Podskalsky, Theologie (wie oben Fußnote 23); zu ihm vgl. A. Camariano-Cioran, Les académies princières de Bucarest et de Jassy et leurs professeurs. Thessalonike 1974, 413 – 431 (mit der dort genannten Literatur); auf S. 428 mit Fußnote 315 – 316 Bemerkungen zu dem hier behandelten Druck.

28 Ἡ θεία καὶ ἱερὰ ἀκολουθία τῶν Ὁσίων καὶ Θεοφόρων Πατέρων ἡμῶν Βαρνάβα καὶ Σωφρονίου τῶν ἐξ Ἀθηνῶν, καὶ τοῦ Ἱεροῦ Χριστοφόρου, τῶν ἐν Μελᾷ ὄρει ἀσκησάντων, ψαλλομένη Τῇ Δεκάτῃ Ὀγδόῃ τοῦ Αὐγούστου Μηνός (...) συντεθεῖσα μὲν παρὰ τοῦ Σοφωτάτου Διδασκάλου Κυρίου Νεοφύτου Ἱεροδιακόνου Πελοποννησίου τοῦ Καυσοκαλυβίτου (...) ἐμμελεῖ δὲ καὶ σπουδῇ καὶ συνδρομῇ τοῦ ἐκ τῆς αὐτῆς Μονῆς Παρθενίου Ἀρχιμανδρίτου Τραπεζουντίου τοῦ Μεταξοπούλου, παρ' ᾧ συντεθεῖσα καὶ ἡ ἐν Συνόψει Ἱστορία τοῦ Βασιλείου τῆς περιφήμου Τραπεζοῦντος. Leipzig 1775 (vgl. http://anemi.lib.uoc.gr/metadata/7/5/4/metadata-155-0000013.tk); siehe auch den Nachdruck Thessalonike 2001. Teile des Textes sind abgedruckt bei O. Lampsides, Ἡ διασκευὴ τοῦ Βίου τῶν ἱδρυτῶν τῆς Μονῆς Σουμελᾶ κατὰ Παρθένιον Μεταξόπουλον καὶ Νεόφυτον Καυσοκαλυβίτην. *Archeion Pontu* 41 (1985) 3 – 50, Text auf S. 6 – 50 (nach einem Exemplar der

S. 45 – 52 die Erstedition des *chrysobullos logos* des Jahres 1364 (unter Kennzeichnung der [mutmaßlichen, vgl. weiter unten] Rotworte durch Kapitälchen). Der Text ist mit sporadischen Anmerkungen versehen, die Kenntnis der örtlichen Gegebenheiten verraten.

Fallmerayer (1842). – Über die Textgrundlage seiner Edition macht J. Ph. Fallmerayer († 1861) eindeutige Angaben; obwohl er nach eigenen Worten sowohl das mutmaßliche Original als auch die bestätigte Kopie im Kloster einsehen konnte, entnahm er den Wortlaut des *chrysobullos logos* der Erstausgabe von Kausokalybites/Metaxopulos (mit [unvollständiger] Kennzeichnung der [mutmaßlichen, vgl. weiter unten] Rotworte durch Kapitälchen).[29] Der Grund für diesen Sachverhalt

Ἐπιτροπὴ Ποντιακῶν Μελετῶν, Athen; mit neuer Paginierung; entspricht den Seiten 1 – 39 des zweiten Teils des ursprünglichen Drucks); IDEM, Δύο προγενέστεραι τῆς „Διασκευῆς" μορφαὶ τοῦ Ἱστορικοῦ τῆς Ἱδρύσεως τῆς Μονῆς Σουμελᾶ I. *Archeion Pontu* 41 (1985) 221 – 229, Text auf S. 222 – 226 (nach einem Exemplar der Ἐπιτροπὴ Ποντιακῶν Μελετῶν, Athen; unter Angabe der ursprünglichen Paginierung; entspricht den Seiten 40 – 44 des zweiten Teils des ursprünglichen Drucks). – Von diesem Werk wurden zwei unterschiedliche Ausgaben (beide Leipzig 1775) gedruckt, von denen nur eine den Text des *chrysobullos logos* enthält, vgl. LEGRAND, Bibliographie hellénique (wie oben Fußnote 14) II 207 – 208 (Nr. 830; erste Version, den *chrysobullos logos* enthaltend); G. G. LADAS / A. D. CHATZEDEMOS, Ἑλληνικὴ βιβλιογραφία. Συμβολὴ στὸ δέκατο ὄγδοο αἰῶνα. Athen 1964, 137 – 140 (Nr. 129; erste Version, den *chrysobullos logos* enthaltend) sowie 140 – 142 (Nr. 130; zweite Version mit neugriechischer Paraphrase der Texte und ohne den Text des *chrysobullos logos*). Im digitalisierten Exemplar (wie oben) wurden offenbar beide Ausgaben zusammengebunden; das Titelblatt entspricht der zweiten, volkssprachlichen Version. An diese ist die erste Ausgabe angebunden, allerdings ohne eigenes Titelblatt und unvollständig; es fehlen die Seiten 1 – 40 des ersten Teils (der zweite Teil setzt wieder mit neuer Paginierung ein und ist vollständig). – Die von Kausokalybites verfasste Einleitung (S. 1 – 2; datiert am 14. 8. 1770 in Stephanopolis [= Kronstadt/Braşov]) ist so missverständlich formuliert, dass es kaum möglich scheint, die jeweilige Beteiligung von Metaxopulos und Kausokalybites an der Edition korrekt zu deuten. Vgl. die Studie von O. LAMPSIDES, Ὁ βίος τῶν ὁσίων ἱδρυτῶν τῆς μονῆς Σουμελᾶ κατὰ τὸν Νεόφυτον Καυσοκαλυβίτην. *Archeion Pontu* 40 (1985) 280 – 292, hier 283, der das Vorwort dahingehend interpretiert, dass Kausokalybites von Metaxopulos handschriftliches Material zur Bearbeitung erhalten habe; letzterer aber sei für die Anmerkungen zum Text zuständig.

29 Text bei FALLMERAYER, Original-Fragmente (wie oben Fußnote 11) 92 – 100. Zum textkritischen Befund vgl. weiter unten im Text. Die Ausgabe von Metaxopulos kannte Fallmerayer nicht etwa bereits vor seinem Aufenthalt im Pontos (1840); sie wurde ihm vielmehr erst durch den Abt des Klosters Sumela ausgehändigt. Vgl. FALLMERAYER, Original-Fragmente (wie oben Fußnote 11) 50 (Hinweis auf die Erstedition), 92 mit Asterisk-Anmerkung (Vollzitat der Erstedition); FALLMERAYER, Fragmente (wie oben Fußnote 11) 188: „Der Abt (...) öffnete die Truhe, hob eine ungebundene Druckschrift in Quarto heraus und gab sie mir als Xenium mit der Bemerkung, hier sey Alles beisammen, was man von alten Zeiten her und aus jetzt nicht mehr vorfindigen Codices über das trapezuntinische Reich und das heilige Kloster wisse. (...) Nur war es eine höchst angenehme Überraschung <,> darin den correkten und von einem Athosmönch mit großer Sorgfalt veran-

liegt in der mangelnden Bereitschaft der Mönche, ihm Original und Kopie für längere Zeit zur Verfügung zu stellen, teils aber auch in der Schwierigkeit bei der Entzifferung der Kanzleischrift des mutmaßlichen Originals.[30]

Miklosich/Müller (1887). – Die chronologisch nächste Edition wurde 1887 von F. Miklosich († 1891) und J. Müller († 1895) im fünften Band ihrer Sammeledition *Acta et diplomata* besorgt.[31] Sie verweisen zwar auf die Erstausgabe von Kausokalybites/Metaxopulos, doch beruht ihr Text ausschließlich auf Fallmerayer. Einige Versehen konnten konjektural beseitigt werden, an wenigen Stellen kam es hingegen zu Textverschlechterungen. Die Kennzeichnung der (mutmaßlichen, vgl. weiter unten) Rotworte durch Kapitälchen wurde aufgehoben.[32]

Kyriakides (1898). – Die bisher letzte Edition stammt von E. Kyriakides, der in seiner eher schwer zugänglichen Geschichte des Klosters Sumela den *chrysobullos logos* ausführlich behandelt und auch den Text abdruckt.[33] Alleine aus der gra-

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stalteten Abdruck der langen Goldbulle zu finden, von deren Original uns der Unverstand der Grottenleute kaum eine flüchtige Durchsicht gestatten wollte".

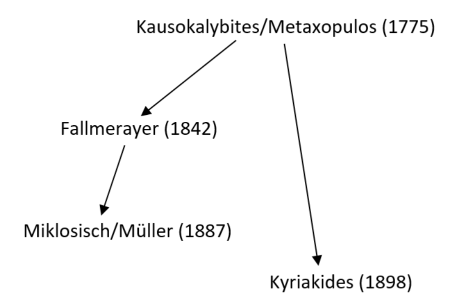
30 Vgl. FALLMERAYER, Fragmente (wie oben Fußnote 11) 184 – 185: „Und doch hatte die Lesung solche Schwierigkeiten, daß zum Entziffern und Kopiren der Satzbildungen oder Zeilen der Bulle, wohl fünf bis sechs Tage nöthig schienen. (…) aber die Mönche gönnten kaum die Zeit, den Inhalt nur flüchtig durchzusehen, und wie ich erst noch Miene machte, die vidimierte Kopie mit dem Original zu vergleichen, verloren sie beinahe die Geduld und wurden am Ende noch anzüglich über die ‚sonderbaren Launen der Franken', die auf solche alte Papiere unverhältnißmäßigen Werth legen".

31 Zu diesem editorischen Unterfangen vgl. die Bemerkungen bei H. HUNGER / O. KRESTEN, Das Register des Patriarchats von Konstantinopel. 1. Teil. Edition und Übersetzung der Urkunden aus den Jahren 1315 – 1331. *CFHB*, 19/1. Wien 1981, 26 – 28; weitere Literatur verzeichnet bei I. P. MEDVEDEV, Еще раз о „петербургской прелюдии" к первому изданию Константинопольского патриархата, in: Византийские очерки. Труды российских ученых к Международному конгрессу византинистов. Sankt Peterburg 2011, 173 – 177.

32 F. MIKLOSICH / I. MÜLLER, Acta et diplomata Graeca medii aevi sacra et profana V. Wien 1887 (Ndr. Athen o. J.) 276 – 280; Angaben zur Vorlage auf S. 280 – 281. Zum textkritischen Befund vgl. weiter unten im Text.

33 E. TH. KYRIAKIDES, Ἱστορία τῆς παρὰ τὴν Τραπεζοῦντα ἱερᾶς βασιλικῆς πατριαρχικῆς σταυροπηγιακῆς μονῆς τῆς ὑπεραγίας Θεοτόκου τῆς Σουμελᾶ. Athen 1898, Text des *chrysobullos logos* auf S. 66 – 74 (ohne Unterschrift). Die Seltenheit dieser Publikation (zu dieser vgl. den Eintrag bei PH. ELIU / P. POLEME, Ἑλληνικὴ βιβλιογραφία 1864 – 1900. Συνοπτικὴ ἀναγραφή. Τόμος Γ΄ 1891 – 1900 καὶ ἀχρονολόγητα. Athen 2006, 3291 [Nr. 1898.332]) erscheint auch im Hinblick auf die teils widersprüchlichen Angaben bezüglich Abfassungs- und Publikationsort bemerkenswert. Es ist durchaus möglich, dass das Buch im Osmanischen Reich gedruckt und Athen als Erscheinungsort nur zur Täuschung der türkischen Zensur auf dem Titelblatt angegeben wurde. Dort ist als Verleger „Εὐκλείδης Γεωργιάδης | βιβλιοπώλης ἐν Τραπεζοῦντι", als Druckort „ἐν Ἀθήναις |

phischen Gestaltung seiner Ausgabe geht eindeutig hervor, dass die Edition ausschließlich auf Kausokalybites/Metaxopulos beruht, also *nicht* nach erneutem Rückgriff auf das Original erfolgte.[34] Die Kennzeichnung der (mutmaßlichen, vgl. weiter unten) Rotworte durch Kapitälchen wurde aufgehoben.



Stemma editionum

Es sei kurz der Versuch unternommen, das durch obige historische Analyse gewonnene *stemma editionum* auch philologisch zu überprüfen. Dabei ist zu beachten, dass der Text aufgrund seiner relativen Kürze nur wenige Anhaltspunkte bietet, zumal orthographische Besonderheiten (Tremata, Spiritus, Getrennt- und Zusammenschreibung) nicht als relevante Binde- oder Trennfehler gewertet werden können. Auf die (im Apparat in der Regel als solche ausgewiesenen) Konjekturaleingriffe durch Miklosich-Müller soll hier nicht eingegangen werden. Verwiesen wird auf Seiten- und Zeilenzahl in der Edition von Miklosich/Müller:

τύποις „Νεολόγου" Κωνσταντινουπόλεως | 1898" angegeben. Als Anhang enthält diese Publikation nach S. 299 (mit eigener Paginierung) eine auf das Jahr 1884 zurückgehende Beschreibung der Handschriften des Klosters: A. Papadopulos-Kerameus, Κατάλογος τῶν ἐν τῇ ἱερᾷ μονῇ τοῦ Σουμελᾶ ἑλληνικῶν χειρογράφων, S. α΄–νς΄. Dieser Katalog erschien (ergänzt durch Beschreibung der Urkunden [vgl. weiter unten im Text]) in Artikelform als A. Papadopulos-Kerameus, Ἑλληνικοὶ κώδικες ἐν τῇ βιβλιοθήκῃ τῆς μονῆς Σουμελᾶ. *VV* 19 (1912) 282–327.

34 Vgl. Kyriakides, Ἱστορία (wie zuvor) 66: Ἐνταῦθα παραθέτομεν ὁλόκληρον τὸ χρυσόβουλλον τοῦ Ἀλεξίου, ὡς τοῦτο ἐδημοσιεύθη παρά τε τοῦ Μεταξοπούλου καὶ τοῦ Φαλμεράϋερ. Man könnte zunächst meinen, dass der Verfasser beide Editionen verglichen hat. Die Einteilung in Paragraphen sowie die beigegebenen Fußnoten sind jedoch unmissverständlich Kausokalybites/Metaxopulos entnommen. Zum philologischen Befund vgl. weiter unten im Text. Dass Kyriakides Zugang zu den Originalen des Archivs hatte (und nicht etwa zu bloßen Abschriften der von ihm edierten Urkunden) beweisen mehrere Stellen in seinem Werk; vgl. insbesondere Kyriakides, Ἱστορία (wie oben Fußnote 33) 86 mit Fußnote 1.

Sonderfehler von Fallmerayer [= F] und Miklosich/Müller [= MM]: 277_{6} Μελᾶ : Μέλα F MM | 277_{16} δεσποινικόν : δεσποτικόν F MM | 278_{34} τοῖς δὲ λοιποῖς : τοῖς τε λοιποῖς F MM | 279_{26} τὴν ἐν τῇ (was den Weg zur Konjektur οἰκίᾳ öffnet) : ἐν τῇ F MM | 280_{10} Μελᾶ : Μέλα F MM. – Sonderfehler von Miklosich/Müller: 276_{15} γὰρ καὶ φρούριον : γὰρ φρούριον MM | 279_{7} ἐπαναστραφήσονται : ἐναποστραφήσονται MM | 279_{17} παπᾶ Παῦλος : παπᾶς Παῦλος MM (idem 279_{19}). – Die Unabhängigkeit des Kyriakides von Fallmerayer und (von ihm gar nicht zitierten) Miklosich/Müller und somit die implizite Abhängigkeit von Kausokalybites/Metaxopulos ist durch die Absenz der oben genannten Besonderheiten in dem von ihm gedruckten Text hinreichend erwiesen.

Es stellt sich nun die Frage, auf welcher Grundlage die *editio princeps* des Kausokalybites/Metaxopulos beruht. Grundsätzlich wäre es denkbar, dass zum Druck in Bukarest eine Abschrift des Originals oder eine Abschrift einer der (Doppel)kopien, allenfalls noch eine der (Doppel)kopien selbst verschickt worden wäre; das Original selbst hätte die Klostergemeinschaft gewiss nicht zu diesem Zwecke zur Verfügung gestellt.[35] Die Möglichkeit, den Text der Edition mit dem Original zu vergleichen, ist nicht gegeben (hierzu vgl. weiter unten im Text), so dass wir auf die Angaben der Edition angewiesen sind. Diese wird mit dem folgenden Vermerk eingeleitet (S. 45): Ἶσον ἀπαράλλακτον τοῦ Βασιλικοῦ Χρυσοβούλλου, τοῦ καθολικοῦ. Es könnte sich zwar um einen Versuch handeln, die Echtheit und Ehrwürdigkeit des Dokuments gegenüber den Lesern zu betonen. Weitaus wahrscheinlicher ist jedoch, dass hier eine Beschaffenheit der Kopie (Überschrift) wiedergegeben wurde. Einen Hinweis in dieselbe Richtung geben die in der Edition mit Kapitälchen wiedergegebenen (mutmaßlichen; vgl. weiter unten) Rotworte.[36] Ein Vergleich der Textedition mit dem *chrysobullos logos* des Alexios III. Megas Komnenos für das Athoskloster Dionysiu (a. 1374) zeigt, dass der Gebrauch der Rotworte im *chrysobullos logos* für das Kloster Sumela (a. 1364) vom ersteren deutlich abweicht.[37] So erscheint nicht die ganze Wendung βασιλεία μου in Rot, sondern stets nur das Substantiv; auch wurde der Gebrauch der Rotworte

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35 Zum Beleg für die Zirkulation des Textes in den Donaufürstentümern in der Zeit um 1755/64 vgl. oben Fußnote 11. Kausokalybites macht bezüglich der Druckvorlage nur sehr vage Andeutungen, vgl. Kausokalybites/Metaxopulos, Ἀκολουθία (wie oben Fußnote 28) 1 – 2: ἐκ διαφόρων (…) ἀντιγράφων μεταγραφέντα.

36 Die Kapitälchen werden auch von Fallmerayer (im Gegensatz zu Miklosisch/Müller und Kyriakides) beibehalten, allerdings nur unvollständig. Er druckt Kapitälchen erst ab 277_{6} Μελᾶ ab und bietet gegenüber Kausokalybites/Metaxopulos auch 280_{27} ὁ als Kapitälchen und hebt 280_{24} μηνί nicht hervor. Der Grund hierfür ist wohl darin zu suchen, dass ihm erst im Laufe seiner Transkription klar wurde, dass die Kapitälchen der Vorgängeredition für die Rotworte der Urkunde eingesetzt wurden und dass somit deren Wiedergabe sinnvoll ist.

37 Vgl. Oikonomidès, Actes (wie oben Fußnote 2) 59 – 61.

offenbar ausgeweitet, und zwar auf Begriffe wie σιγίλλιον (276_{5}, 278_{22}), θεόπαις, λόγος [= Gott] ($276_{13–14}$), ἀρχή (276_{26}), θεοτόκος (277_{5}, 280_{19}), Μελᾶ (277_{6}, 280_{10}), εἰκών (277_{8}), Σουμελᾶ (278_{24}, 279_{6}), κράτος (279_{2}, 280_{24}) und Teile der Datierung (μηνί: 280_{24}). Signifikant sind hier einerseits religiöse Begriffe, andererseits auch Termini, die auf das Kloster selbst hinweisen und dieses hervorheben. Dieser Gebrauch ist schwer mit jenem einer Herrscherkanzlei zu vereinbaren, jedoch sehr gut verständlich, wenn wir annehmen, dass als Vorlage eine im Auftrag der Mönchsgemeinschaft hergestellte Prunkkopie gedient hat, die einerseits die ursprünglichen Rotworte teilweise richtig wiedergibt, darüber hinaus jedoch zur Zierde und zum größeren Ruhm des Klosters weitere hinzufügt.

Diese Hypothese kann durch Vergleich der in Athen aufbewahrten Doppelkopie überprüft werden. Die Verwendung der Rotworte weicht von jener der *editio princeps* recht stark ab, wobei festzuhalten ist, dass es auf beiden Seiten ein „Textplus" und ein „Textminus" gibt und dass sowohl „Textplus" als auch „Textminus" auf beiden Seiten den hypothetischen Gebrauch der Rotworte im Original der Urkunde (vertreten durch das Original für das Athoskloster Dionysiu) sowohl richtig als auch falsch wiedergeben können.

Im Folgenden notieren wir nur die jeweiligen Abweichungen der beiden Versionen. Rote Tinte fehlt in der Athener Doppelkopie bei λόγος[1] (276_{14}), θεός (276_{15}), ἀρχή (276_{26}), Μελᾶ (277_{6}; 280_{10}), εἰκών (277_{8}), χρυσόβουλλον (Akkusativ von λόγος χρυσόβουλλος) (277_{18}), χρυσοβούλλου (Genitiv von χρυσόβουλλος λόγος) (278_{12}; 280_{23}), σιγίλλιον (278_{22}), Σουμελᾶ (278_{24}; 279_{6}), κράτος (279_{2}; 280_{24}) und bei Teilen der Datierung (μηνί: 280_{24}) und wird über den Gebrauch der *editio princeps* hinaus eingesetzt für die ganze Intitulatio und Promulgationszeile sowie für die Unterschrift, ferner für θεός (277_{4}), λόγος (277_{18}; 278_{12}; 278_{25}; 280_{23}), βασιλεύς (277_{25}; 277_{32}; 278_{3}; 280_{21}), Βασίλειος (277_{29}), Ἰωάννης (278_{3}), Εὐδοκία (278_{5}), Ἀλέξιος (278_{25}), dreimal für die ganze Wendung βασιλεία μου (280_{6}; 280_{22}; 280_{23}) sowie für Teile der Datierung (Monat, Indiktion, Weltjahreszahl).

Dieser Befund ist nur dann verständlich, wenn wir annehmen, dass jede der beiden Versionen (Athener Doppelkopie und die Edition von Kausokalybites/Metaxopulos) den Gebrauch der Rotworte im Original teilweise (wenn auch jeweils unterschiedlich) korrekt wiedergibt, allerdings mit (ebenfalls jeweils verschiedenen) Zusätzen. Auch der textkritische Befund zeigt, dass beide Textzeugen voneinander unabhängig sind, wobei wider Erwarten festzuhalten ist, dass der ältere, vom Patriarchen und der *synodos endemusa* bestätigte Text deutlich schlechter als die Edition ist.

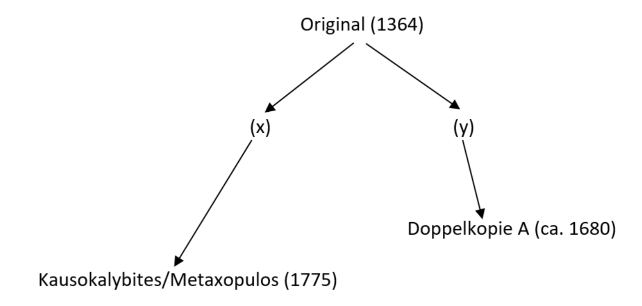
Sonderfehler der Edition [= KM]: 276_{24} ἔν τε ξυμφοραῖς καὶ περιστάσεσι : ἔν τε ξυμφοραῖς τε καὶ περιστάσεσι KM | 277_{11} παροικικῇ (coniecerunt Miklosich/Müller) : παροίκῳ KM | 278_{5} Εὐδοκίας Κομνηνῆς Παλαιολογίνας : Εὐδοκίας Παλαιολογίνας

KM | 278_{21} χαρτώων : χαρτίων KM | τῆς τοιαύτης : ταύτης τῆς KM | 279_{6} ἀδιάσειστόν τε καὶ ἀνενόχλητον : ἀδιάσειστον καὶ ἀνενόχλητον KM | 279_{8} μή τις τολμήσῃ (-ει A) : μήτε τολμήσῃ KM | 279_{15} δὲ καί : δέ KM | 279_{26} Κουτουλοῦ : Κουταλοῦ KM | 280_{25} ,ς^{οῦ}ω^{οῦ}ο^{οῦ}γ^{ου} : ,ςωογʹ KM. – Sonderfehler der Doppelkopie [= A]: 276_{1-2} *inuocationem* om. A | 276_{10} διαχειρίζεται : διισχυρίζεται A | 276_{10-11} φθαρτοῖς οὖσι καὶ ἐπικήροις : φθαρτὰ ὄντα καὶ ἐπίκηρα A | 276_{18-19} καὶ ἐν ταύτῃ : κἀνταῦθα A | 276_{21} ἐπαινοῦσα καὶ εὐχαριστοῦσα : ἐπαινεῖν καὶ εὐχαριστεῖν A | 277_{4} δὲ πόθον : δέπου A | 277_{7} προσεκύνησε : προσεκύνησέ τε καί A | 277_{10-11} μικράν τινα, ὡς ἂν προσῆκον, ἀντίδοσιν ἐκ προαιρέσεως ποιῆσαι καὶ τὰ προανατεθέντα ἐπικυρῶσαι : ὡς ἂν μικράν τινα ἐκ προαιρέσεως προσήκη ποιεῖν καὶ τὰ προανατεθέντα ἐπικυρεῖν A | 277_{12} δή om. A | 277_{17} αὐτῆς : αὐτοῖς A | 277_{31} καὶ τά : σὺν τά A | 278_{1} αὐτῷ : αὐτῇ A | 278_{5} καὶ τὰ : σὺν τά A | 278_{6} Κιντζικερᾶ : Κιντζικερᾶς A | 278_{14} τόποι : τόπια A | 278_{14} ὁσπητανάκια : ὁσπηταπάκια A | 278_{20} αὐτῆς : ταύτης A | 278_{31} οἱ δέ : οἱ μέν A | 278_{32} λοιποῖς : λοιπαῖς A | 279_{3} ὑποκέηται : ὑποκείσηται A | 279_{5} καὶ τά : σὺν τά A | 279_{5} ἐπικρατείᾳ : ὑποκρατείᾳ A | 279_{16} Ζευλάντοι : ζευλάνται A | 279_{18} Μαβραίας : μαβρέας A | 279_{18} Γουλζάπης : γουζάλπης A | 279_{23} ὁ Χαζούρης : ὁ χαζούρης ὁ χαλαμάνος κωνσταντίνος ὁ μασκούθης A | 279_{24} Κωνσταντίνος ὁ Μασκούθης ὁ Χαλαμᾶνος om. A | 279_{25} τὰ Κούτουλα : τοῦ κούτουλα A | 279_{26} Χατζῆ : χαντζῆ A | 279_{26} ὁ Χρύσανθος : τὸν χρύσανθον A | 280_{8} ἀποβιῶναι : ἀποβῆναι A | 280_{9} ἐπανέλθωσιν : ἐπανελεύσωνται A | 280_{18} ἕως : ἕως εἰς A | 280_{18} ἀθετῆσαι : ἀθετήσει A | 280_{24} μηνί : ἐν μηνί A.

Die angeführten Stellen zeigen, dass beide Abschriften voneinander unabhängig sind; es stellt sich die Frage, ob sie (auf beiden Seiten durch Vermittlung einer Zwischenabschrift)[38] unabhängig auf das Original zurückgreifen oder auf eine gemeinsame Vorstufe zurückzuführen sind. Zahlreiche Verlesungen von Suspensionskürzungen legen den Schluss nahe, dass keine gemeinsame Vorstufe vorliegt, denn diese wäre in der für die jeweiligen Kopisten vertrauten und gut lesbaren postbyzantinischen Minuskel geschrieben, so dass kein Grund für massive Verlesungen vorhanden wäre. Es lässt sich kaum der Schluss vermeiden, dass beide Versionen auf erneute Transkription des Originals zurückgehen, wobei der Kopist der Vorlage von Kausokalybites/Metaxopulos als wesentlich geschickter zu bezeichnen ist. Damit können wir folgendes Stemma aufstellen.

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38 Im Falle der *editio princeps* bedingt durch den Verlagsort (Bukarest; direkte Verwendung des Originals vor Ort hätte die Mönchsgemeinschaft bestimmt nicht gestattet), im Falle der Doppelkopie zumindest hypothetisch deswegen anzusetzen, weil nicht davon auszugehen ist, dass die mühsame Transkription vom Original (geschrieben vermutlich in der schwer lesbaren Reservatschrift der Kaiserkanzlei) direkt in das Prunkexemplar vorgenommen wurde, das zur Bestätigung durch den Patriarchen von Konstantinopel bestimmt war.



Stemma

4. Das Original

Versuchen wir nun, dem mutmaßlichen Original selbst nachzugehen. Unsere Quellen über dieses Schriftstück bestehen (in chronologischer Reihenfolge) aus den beiden bekannten Doppelkopien (ca. 1680; a. 1688), dem Druck von Kausokalybites/Metaxopulos (a. 1775; mit dem Vorbehalt, dass dieser nicht die Beschaffenheit des Originals, sondern die einer Kopie wiedergibt), dem ausführlichen Bericht von J. Ph. Fallmerayer (a. 1840/46), den Angaben von W. G. Palgrave (1871), H. Tozer (1881), A. Papadopulos-Kerameus (a. 1898/1912 [zurückgehend auf das Jahr 1884]), jenen von Ep. Kyriakides (1898) sowie aus verstreuten und meist sehr kurzen Notizen in diversen Reiseberichten und Synthesen zu pontischer Geschichte aus der Zeit vor 1923.[39] Eine Sonderstellung nehmen die Angaben des

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39 Vgl. (in chronologischer Reihenfolge) E. Zachariae von Lingenthal, Reise in den Orient in den Jahren 1837 und 1838 ueber Wien, Venedig, Florenz, Rom, Neapel, Malta, Sicilien und Griechenland nach Saloniki, dem Berge Athos, Konstantinopel und Trapezunt. Heidelberg 1840 (Ndr. Frankfurt am Main 1985), 317 – 318 (a. 1838; kurze Angaben zur Bibliothek, Erwähnung von Klosterbränden im 18. Jh.); P. K. Enepekidès, Quelques documents byzantins des archives du Mont Athos d’après les copies de Minoïde Mynas (1843), conservées à la Bibliothèque nationale de Paris. *Studi bizantini e neoellenici* 7 (1953) 61 – 65, hier 63 (Besuch des Mynas in den pontischen Klöstern, im Kloster Sumela keine Urkunden verzeichnet; vgl. auch I. Kolias, Bibliothèques et manuscrits de Trébizonde. *Archeion Pontu* 35 [1978] 282 – 289; eadem, Τὰ χειρόγραφα τῆς μονῆς Ἁγίου Γεωργίου τοῦ Περιστερεώτη [στὴν ἐπαρχία τῆς Τραπεζοῦντας], in: Ἀφιέρωμα στὸν καθηγητὴ Λίνο Πολίτη. Thessalonike 1979, 205 – 221); A. Bryer / D. Winfield, Nineteenth-century monuments in the city and vilayet of Trebizond: architectural and historical notes. Part 3. *Archeion Pontu* 30 (1970) 228 – 385, hier 271 – 279, 275 [= Bryer/Winfield/Ballance/Isaac, Post-Byzantine monuments (wie oben Fußnote 3), Part 3] (Text des Reiseberichtes von G. Finlay [a. 1850]; Dokument erwähnt, kein Zugang zum Archiv); S. Ioannides, Ἱστορία καὶ στατιστικὴ Τραπεζοῦντος καὶ τῆς περὶ ταύτην χώρας ὡς καὶ τὰ περὶ τῆς ἐνταῦθα ἑλληνικῆς γλώσσης. Konstanti-

letzten Metropoliten von Trapezunt, Chrysanthos (Philippides), ein (1933). Nachstehend soll nicht jedes dieser Zeugnisse für sich besprochen, sondern gleich eine Synthese der verschiedenen dort gebotenen Informationen versucht werden; bei sich ergebenden Widersprüchen werden diese *suo loco* besprochen.

Wie wir gesehen haben, wurde das Schriftstück im *skeuophylakion* des Klosters zusammen mit anderen Zimelien aufbewahrt, und zwar in einem Metallbehälter.[40] Es war sehr wahrscheinlich auf orientalischem Papier geschrieben[41] und an mehreren Stellen beschädigt.[42] Die Maße lassen sich mit 0,16 × 2 m angeben.[43] Die Schrift war besonders kunstvoll und schwer zu entziffern, was auf das Vorliegen der sog. Reservatschrift schließen lässt.[44] Die Präsenz von Rotworten ist

nopel 1870 (Ndr. Athen 1981), 93, 96, 244 (Dokument als Kopie erwähnt; Original vom Patriarchat angefordert und einbehalten); Kyriakides, Βιογραφίαι (wie oben Fußnote 23) 131 mit Fußnote 139 (erwähnt, ohne Wertung); keine Erwähnung bei K. N. Papamichaelopulos, Περιήγησις εἰς τὸν Πόντον. Athen 1903 (auf S. 79 – 80 nur allgemeine Bemerkungen zur Bibliothek und zum *skeuophylakion*); N. P. Lukas, Ὀλίγα τινὰ περὶ τῆς πατριαρχικῆς μονῆς Σουμελᾶ, in: *Ἡ Αὐγὴ τοῦ Πόντου*. Athen 1904, 154 – 160, hier 160 (Kopie; Original vom Patriarchat angefordert und einbehalten [Nachricht auf Ioannides, Ἱστορία, wie oben, basierend]); F. Cumont / E. Cumont, Voyage d'exploration archéologique dans le Pont et la Petite Arménie. *Studia Pontica*, 2. Brüssel 1906, 371 – 372 (keine Erwähnung der Bibliothek und der Handschriften).

40 Fallmerayer, Original-Fragmente (wie oben Fußnote 11) 50: „in einer Metallkapsel eingeschlossen"; Chrysanthos, Ἐκκλησία (wie oben Fußnote 15) 475: ἐν ἰδιαιτέρᾳ μεταλλίνῃ θήκῃ φυλαττόμενον.

41 Fallmerayer, Original-Fragmente (wie oben Fußnote 11) 49: „auf Seidenpapier geschrieben und auf mehreren Stellen schadhaft"; vgl. auch Fallmerayer, Fragmente (wie oben Fußnote 11) 184: „Die Rolle bestand aus Seidenpapier (…)"; Papadopulos-Kerameus *apud* Kyriakides, Ἱστορία (wie oben Fußnote 33) 281: χάρτης, βομβύκινος τοῦ ιδ΄ αἰῶνος; Papadopulos-Kerameus, Κώδικες (wie oben Fußnote 33) 311: ἐκ χάρτου βομβυκίνου.

42 Vgl. H. F. Tozer, Turkish Armenia and Eastern Asia Minor. London 1881, 442 – 443: „ (…) a paper scroll backed with silk (…). The scroll is cracked in several places, and in one the crack extends right across the paper".

43 Fallmerayer, Original-Fragmente (wie oben Fußnote 11) 49: „(…) um ein Viertheil schmäler [*sc.* als der *chrysobullos logos* des Jahres 1374 für das Athoskloster Dionysiu], aber dafür um einige Fuss länger, so dass es in diesem Sinne nicht weniger als achtzehn bis zwanzig Fuss messen kann". Vgl. auch Fallmerayer, Fragmente (wie oben Fußnote 11) 184: „(…) etwas über einen Fuß in der Breite, aber achtzehn bis zwanzig Fuß in der Länge"; Tozer, Turkish Armenia (wie oben Fußnote 42): „about thirteen inches wide, and fifteen feet long"; Papadopulos-Kerameus *apud* Kyriakides, Ἱστορία (wie oben Fußnote 33) 281: μῆκος δύο γαλλ. μέτρων καὶ πλάτος 6 (*lege:* 16) ἑκατοστῶν; Papadopulos-Kerameus, Κώδικες (wie oben Fußnote 33): μήκους δύο γαλλικῶν μέτρων, πλάτους δὲ στενοῦ δέκα καὶ ἓξ ἑκατοστῶν τοῦ μέτρου.

44 Vgl. Fallmerayer, Fragmente (wie oben Fußnote 11) 184: „(…) den in kalligraphischen Schnörkeleien wunderbar verschlungenen Text (…)"; Fallmerayer, Fragmente (wie oben Fußnote 11) 184: „(…) zwischen den Zeilen weite Räume und die Accente besonders lang und deutlich ausgedrückt". Siehe auch W. G. Palgrave, The monastery of Sumelas. *Fraser's Magazine* n. s. 3

indirekt durch den Druck von Kausokalybites/Metaxopulos bezeugt, wurde aber auch gesondert angemerkt,[45] ebenso wie die rote Intitulatio,[46] die rote kaiserliche Unterschrift[47] und der Dorsalvermerk.[48] Das zu erwartende Goldsiegel war verlorengegangen.[49] Besonderes Interesse rief das dem Urkundentext vorangestellte

(1871) 195 – 206, hier 204: „the characters of the writing are large and fine drawn"; TOZER, Turkish Armenia (wie oben Fußnote 42) 443: „The rest of the document is written in black ink, with numerous contractions".

45 Vgl. FALLMERAYER, Fragmente (wie oben Fußnote 11) 184: „(...) der schwarz, roth und blau überschriebene Fetzen (...)"; TOZER, Turkish Armenia (wie oben Fußnote 42): „(...) but wherever the name of king (βασιλεύς) occurs, it is in red (...)". Der sonderbare Hinweis auf das Vorliegen blauer Farbe findet sich auch in Fallmerayers ausführlicher Beschreibung des *chrysobullos logos* des Kaisers Alexios III. Megas Komnenos für das Athoskloster Dionysiu (1374), vgl. FALLMERAYER, Original-Fragmente (wie oben Fußnote 11) 44: „Die Doxologie und kaiserliche Titulatur ist in drei bis vier Zoll hohen, halb goldenen, halb lasurblauen Buchstaben mit besonderer Pracht geschrieben (...)".

46 TOZER, Turkish Armenia (wie oben Fußnote 42): „The heading, which is written in gold letters, contains the emperor's titles – ʽAlexius, Faithful in Christ our God, King and Emperor of all the East, of the Iberians, and of Perateia, the Grand Comnenusʼ".

47 PALGRAVE, Monastery (wie oben Fußnote 44) 204: „(...) the Imperial autograph, in huge red ink letters, sprawls below (...)"; TOZER, Turkish Armenia (wie oben Fußnote 42) 443: „(...) and so is [*sc.* in Rot] the signature at the end, which repeats the title given above, and is subscribed in a large bold hand". Vgl. auch Papadopulos-Kerameus *apud* KYRIAKIDES, Ἱστορία (wie oben Fußnote 33) 281: διὰ κινναβάρεως γεγραμμένη ἡ ὑπογραφή; PAPADOPULOS-KERAMEUS, Κώδικες (wie oben Fußnote 33) 311: ἡ τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος ὑπογραφὴ διὰ κινναβάρεως.

48 LAMPROS, Ἑλληνικὰ χειρόγραφα (wie oben Fußnote 17) 484 – 485; Papadopulos-Kerameus *apud* KYRIAKIDES, Ἱστορία (wie oben Fußnote 33) 281: ὄπισθεν δὲ στοιχηδὸν ἄνωθεν ἕως κάτω ἀνέγνωσεν ὁ Κυμινήτης: „τὸ παρὸν σὺν θεῷ ἁγίῳ χρυσόβουλλον διωρίσθη καὶ ἐπεδόθη τῇ σεβασμίᾳ μονῇ τῆς παναγίας θεοτόκου τῆς Σουμελᾶ κατὰ τὸν παρόντα δεκέμβριον τῆς γ[ης] ἰνδικτιῶνος ‚ϛωογʹ ἔτους"; PAPADOPULOS-KERAMEUS, Κώδικες (wie oben Fußnote 33) 311: ἄνωθεν ἕως κάτω ἀραιοῖς καὶ μεγάλοις γεγραμμένη γράμμασι, ἧς τὸ ὅλον, εἰ καὶ νῦν οὐχὶ τέλειον, Σεβαστὸς ὁ Κυμινήτης ἀνέγνω κατὰ τὴν ἀνανέωσιν οὕτω (es folgt der Text des Dorsalvermerks). Aus dieser Beschreibung geht hervor, dass der Dorsalvermerk im Jahre 1884 nur noch teilweise zu entziffern war.

49 FALLMERAYER, Original-Fragmente (wie oben Fußnote 11) 51: „Auch die beiden Goldsiegel des Imperators und seiner Gemahlin sind heute nicht mehr am Document zu finden, wie an der Athosbulle zu St. Dionys"; FALLMERAYER, Fragmente (wie oben Fußnote 11) 184: „Die beweglichen Goldsiegel unterhalb der fürstlichen Bilder waren, man weiß nicht seit wann, verschwunden (...)". Fallmerayer zieht hier einen Vergleich mit der von ihm später eingesehenen Stiftungsurkunde für das Athoskloster Dionysiu (a. 1374); er interpretiert offenbar das nicht im ursprünglichen Zustand überlieferte Goldsiegel dieses Schriftstücks (heute zwei an die Urkunde angenähte Goldplättchen unterhalb des Stifterporträts, ursprünglich Avers und Revers des kaiserlichen Goldsiegels) irrtümlich als Siegel des Kaisers und der Kaiserin; vgl. N. A. OIKONOMIDES, Reused Byzantine gold bullae. *Studies in Byzantine Sigillography* 2 (1990) 95 – 103, hier 96. Die irrige Meinung Fallmerayers auch bei TOZER, Turkish Armenia (Fußnote 42) 443 (der 443 in Fußnote 2

Stifterporträt des Kaisers und der Kaiserin, das auch ausführlich beschrieben wurde. Die stehenden Figuren des Herrscherpaares waren in purpurroten goldbestickten Kaiserornat gekleidet, trugen je ein Diadem auf dem Haupt, wobei dasjenige der Kaiserin noch zusätzlich mit Perpendilien versehen war. Die Herrscher hielten gemeinsam ein Kirchengebäude in den Händen (Stiftergeste). Unter Vergleich mit dem originalen *chrysobullos logos* für das Athoskloster Dionysiu (a. 1374) stellte Fallmerayer einige Anomalien (fehlende Reichsinsignien [außer Szepter], keine Abbildung des Rotulus, keine Segnung durch Christi Hand) fest.[50]

Kyriakides, der das hier behandelte Schriftstück höchstwahrscheinlich persönlich einsehen konnte (a. 1898), fügte keine weiteren Details über dessen Beschaffenheit hinzu und beschränkte sich darauf, die Beschreibung Fallmerayers wiederzugeben und mit dieser zu polemisieren. Die von Fallmerayer festgestellten Mängel (Beschädigung, Anomalien des Stifterporträts) sprächen nach Kyriakides dafür, dass lediglich eine Kopie vorliege. Damit schloss er sich seinem Landsmann Ioannides an, der bereits im Jahre 1870 unser Dokument (allerdings ohne Be-

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Fallmerayer zitiert, dessen Beschreibung also offensichtlich kennt): „Underneath these [*sc.* Stifterporträt des Kaisers und der Kaiserin] was originally the golden seal, but this, as might be expected, has not been spared“. Richtig hingegen Palgrave, Monastery (wie oben Fußnote 44): „the gold seals once appended have long since disappeared from the foot of the scroll“.

50 Fallmerayer, Original-Fragmente (wie oben Fußnote 11) 50: „(…) Standbilder des Imperators und seiner Gemahlin an der Spitze, aber nur sechs Zoll hoch, in einfachem Purpurüberwurf, mit Scepter und edelsteinbesetzten Kronringen niedern Grades und ohne Glorie auf dem Haupte. Doch sind die Gesichtszüge an beiden Bildern schön und trägt die Kaiserin auch hier grosse Ohrgehänge von Diamanten. Die übrigen Reichsinsignien aber sind zugleich mit dem Salvator mundi und der in den kaiserlichen Händen gehaltenen Rolle weggelassen (…)“. Vgl. auch die kondensierte Beschreibung ebd., S. 58. Siehe ferner Fallmerayer, Fragmente (wie oben Fußnote 11) 184: „(…) die sechs Zoll hohen Porträte des Imperators und seiner Gemahlin Theodora, in schönster Farbenpracht, mit Diadem und Purpurkleid (…)“. Vgl. auch Palgrave, Monastery (wie oben Fußnote 44) 204: „At the head of the ‘Bull’ (…) appear the portraits of Alexios, and his wife, the Empress Theodora, holding between them on their joined hands a small model church (…)“; Tozer, Turkish Armenia (wie oben Fußnote 42) 442 – 443: „(…) at its head are two portraits of Alexius himself and his queen, clad in robes of crimson and gold, and holding between them a church, which symbolises the monastery. The likenesses are evidently originals, for there is nothing conventional about the faces“. Mit der letzten Bemerkung reagierte Tozer vermutlich auf die oben referierten Bedenken Fallmerayers. Der deutsche Historiker hatte überdies den Vorteil, die Urkunde aus eigener Anschauung (nachträglich) mit jener für das Athoskloster Dionysiu ausgestellten zu vergleichen, und zog dabei die folgende Bilanz (Fallmerayer, Original-Fragmente, wie oben Fußnote 11, 49): „An äusserer Pracht und Eleganz der Form steht dieses Document der Gross-Comnen’schen Staatskanzlei weit hinter der Stiftungsurkunde des Athoskloster St. Dionys zurück“.

gründung) als Kopie kurz erwähnte.[51] Eine völlig unterschiedliche Erklärung lieferte A. Papadopulos-Kerameus, der im Jahre 1884 anlässlich eines Besuchs im Kloster zwecks Katalogisierung der Handschriften auch die Urkunden einsehen konnte. Er stellte fest, dass das Schriftstück auf orientalischem Papier geschrieben und folglich ein Original sei; lediglich das Stifterporträt, die Promulgationszeile und ein Teil der ersten Textzeile seien spätere Ergänzungen des 17. Jahrhunderts, die im Zusammenhang mit der neugriechischen Paraphrase des Sebastos Trapezuntios Kyminetes stünden. Über den *chrysobullos logos* referierte Papadopulos-Kerameus insgesamt dreimal: *ad calcem* der Monographie von Kyriakides (1898), in zwei Briefen an S. Lampros (1906/7) sowie in seinem Katalog der griechischen Handschriften des Klosters Sumela (1912).[52] Der letzte Besucher des Klosters aus der Zeit vor 1923, der über den *chrysobullos logos* berichtete und diesen (zumindest theoretisch) auch aus eigener Anschauung gekannt haben könnte, war der letzte Metropolit von Trapezunt (seit 1913) Chrysanthos (Philippides, † 1949). Doch Chrysanthos beschränkte sich darauf, in seiner monumentalen Kirchengeschichte von Trapezunt (1933) ausführlich auf die Beschreibung des Dokuments durch Fallmerayer einzugehen und die Meinung von Kyriakides wiederzugeben; die Informationen von A. Papadopulos-Kerameus übersah er völlig.[53]

Versuchen wir nun, auf dieser überraschend breiten Informationsbasis zu entscheiden, ob das hier behandelte Schriftstück ein Original oder lediglich eine Kopie war. Den oben herausgearbeiteten äußeren Urkundenmerkmalen kommt hierbei unterschiedliche Gewichtung zu. Die meisten von ihnen können auch in einer urkundenmäßigen *copie figurée* auftreten und sind daher nicht ausschlaggebend. Dies gilt nicht für den Beschreibstoff, die Reservatschrift und den Dor-

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51 Kyriakides, Ἱστορία (wie oben Fußnote 33) 64 – 66; zu der Benützung des Klosterarchivs durch Kyriakides vgl. oben Fußnote 34. Aus subtilen Hinweisen, die nur „zwischen den Zeilen“ zu erkennen sind, lässt sich schließen, dass es Kyriakides durchaus ein Anliegen war, dem sich oft kritisch über die Klostergemeinschaft äußernden Fallmerayer zu widersprechen. Zu dem Zeugnis Ioannides’ vgl. Fußnote 39.

52 Kyriakides, Ἱστορία (wie oben Fußnote 33) 280 – 281; S. P. Lampros, Τὸ χρυσόβουλλον τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος Τραπεζοῦντος Ἀλεξίου Γʹ. *NE* 3 (1906) 486 – 487; idem, Τὸ ἐκ τῆς μονῆς Σουμελᾶ Τραπεζουντιακὸν χρυσόβουλλον. *NE* 4 (1907) 243 – 244 (referiert zwei Briefe des A. Papadopulos-Kerameus); Papadopulos-Kerameus, Κώδικες (wie oben Fußnote 11) 311.

53 Chrysanthos, Ἐκκλησία (wie oben Fußnote 15) 474 – 476 (gibt teilweise wörtlich Passagen aus den Ausführungen von Kyriakides wieder und fügt keine neuen Details hinzu; es ist daher gut möglich, dass er das Schriftstück nie gesehen hat). Die Meinung von A. Papadopulos-Kerameus hätte ihm aus der von ihm zitierten Monographie von Kyriakides (vgl. oben Fußnote 52) bekannt sein müssen; in der Bibliographie auf S. 8 – 26 und 797 – 807 werden weder die kurzen Berichte von S. Lampros über seine Korrespondenz mit A. Papadopulos-Kerameus (wie oben Fußnote 52) noch der Katalog der Handschriften des Klosters Sumela aus der Feder des letzteren (wie oben Fußnote 33) zitiert.

salvermerk. Das Vorliegen orientalischen Papiers weist darauf hin, dass es sich kaum um eine jüngere Kopie gehandelt haben könnte;[54] auch die Imitation der Reservatschrift der Kaiserkanzlei wäre für einen nicht eigens dafür ausgebildeten oder gar wesentlich späteren Kopisten nicht möglich, und die Anbringung des Dorsalvermerks würde eine bemerkenswerte Kenntnis der Usancen des byzantinischen Urkundenwesens voraussetzen. Unterschiedliche Bedeutung kommt auch dem Zeugnis unserer Informanten zu. Die ausführliche Beschreibung Fallmerayers vermag nicht darüber hinwegzutäuschen, dass er als Pionier der Byzantinistik eher bescheidene Kenntnisse des Urkundenwesens der Byzantiner besaß.[55] Palgrave und Tozer beschränkten sich auf eine knappe (wenn auch intelligente) Anführung der äußeren Urkundenmerkmale, und Kyriakides vermochte dem Dokument keine einzige Information zu entlocken, die nicht schon bei Fallmerayer stand. Ins Gewicht fällt hingegen die ausführliche Beschreibung der Urkunde sowie die Interpretation des Befundes durch A. Papadopulos-Kerameus (†1912). Dieser war neben S. Lampros (†1919)[56] der zweifelsohne beste Kenner der grie-

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54 An dieser Stelle sei darauf hingewiesen, dass in älteren Publikationen orientalisches (östliches arabisches, westliches arabisches sowie [im griechischen Bereich sehr seltenes] katalanisches) Papier mit frühem italienischem Papier (bisweilen sogar mit Wasserzeichen) oft verwechselt wird („βομβύκινος χάρτης", „Bombyzinpapier" usw. [diese Begriffe sind inzwischen überholt]). Der Umstand, dass der *chrysobullos logos* für das Athoskloster Dionysiu (a. 1374) auf orientalischem Papier geschrieben ist (vgl. Oikonomides, Chancery, wie oben Fußnote 3, 317) könnte immerhin darauf hinweisen, dass es sich um eine genuine Information handelt. Zum Beschreibstoff vgl. F. Dölger / J. Karayannopulos, Byzantinische Urkundenlehre, I: Die Kaiserurkunden (*Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft* XII/3,1,1). München 1968, 27 – 28; N. Oikonomidès, Le support matériel des documents byzantins, in: La paléographie grecque et byzantine. Paris, 21 – 25 octobre 1974. *Colloques internationaux du Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique*, 559. Paris 1977, 385 – 416; N. Oikonomidès, La chancellerie impériale de Byzance du 13e au 15e siècle. *REB* 43 (1985) 167 – 195, hier 175; L. Pieralli, La corrispondenza diplomatica dell'imperatore bizantino con le potenze estere nel tredicesimo secolo (1204 – 1282). Studio storico-diplomatistico ed edizione critica. *Collectanea Archivi Vaticani*, 54. Vatikanstadt 2006, 34 – 35.

55 Vgl. seine in Fußnote 49 referierten Ausführungen bezüglich der Besiegelung der Urkunde. Siehe auch Fallmerayer, Fragmente (wie oben Fußnote 11) 184: „Es war [*sc.* der *chrysobullos logos* für das Kloster der Muttergottes Sumela] das erste Dokument dieser Art, welches mir je zu Gesicht gekommen (...)".

56 Verschiedene Handschriftenstudien boten dem Verf. die Möglichkeit, die Datierung von etwa 250 Handschriften am Mikrofilm zu überprüfen, die in dem monumentalen Katalog der Athoshandschriften (unter Ausschluss von Vatopedi und Megiste Lavra) von S. Lampros beschrieben sind; vgl. S. P. Lampros, Catalogue of the Greek manuscripts on Mount Athos. Cambridge 1895 – 1900 (Ndr. Amsterdam 1966). Unter der Berücksichtigung, dass hier alle Codices (von wenigen Ausnahmen abgesehen) lediglich auf das Jahrhundert genau datiert sind und daher eine gewisse Bandbreite von Interpretationen zulassen (so kann etwa XIII sowohl a. 1201 als auch a. 1300 bedeuten), sind die Angaben von Lampros erstaunlich korrekt; die Fehlerquote liegt schät-

chischen Paläographie und des byzantinischen Urkundenwesens im späten 19. und frühen 20. Jahrhundert; kaum ein anderer hätte damals ein qualifizierteres Urteil abgeben können. Gepaart mit dem kumulierten Auftreten signifikanter Urkundenmerkmale würde dieser Umstand dafür sprechen, dass die Urkunde ein (beschädigtes) Original und das Stifterporträt eine spätere Zutat war, die eine ursprünglich vorhandene, jedoch stark beschädigte Miniatur zur Gänze ersetzen sollte.

5. Das Schicksal des Dokuments

Als im Frühjahr 1923 die Klostergemeinschaft von Sumela aufgelöst wurde und die letzten Mönche das Kloster verlassen mussten,[57] stellte sich die Frage, wie mit den zahlreichen Zimelien im *skeuophylakion* zu verfahren ist. Einige wenige handliche und besonders wertvolle Gegenstände sollten die Mönche (trotz diesbezüglichen Verbots der türkischen Behörden) offenbar mitnehmen und versuchen, sie aus dem Land zu schaffen – ähnlich, wie es im Falle der Gebeine des Kaisers Alexios IV. Megas Komnenos gelungen war.[58] Wenig überraschend ist, dass unter diesen auch die für das Selbstverständnis der Mönchsgemeinschaft so wichtigen Rechtstitel waren. Da die Mönche offenbar überzeugt waren, dass alle vorhan-

zungsweise bei 6 – 7 %. Von diesen wiederum entfällt mehr als die Hälfte auf die sog. archaisierende Minuskel der frühen Palaiologenzeit, ein Problem, das erst Jahrzehnte nach dem Tod von Lampros gelöst werden konnte. Auch wenn A. Papadopulos-Kerameus (insbesondere bei seinen philologischen Arbeiten) die wissenschaftliche Akribie von Lampros nicht erreichen konnte (was auch seinen wesentlich schlechteren Arbeitsbedingungen geschuldet ist), so konnte er sich durch Beschreibung von Hunderten von griechischen Handschriften in heute schwer zugänglichen, aufgelösten oder sogar völlig vernichteten Bibliotheken nicht nur große Verdienste um die Byzantinistik erwerben, sondern auch hervorragende praktische Kenntnisse der griechischen Paläographie erarbeiten.

57 Vgl. Bryer/Winfield, Nineteenth-century monuments (wie oben Fußnote 3) 281; O. Meinardus, The Panagia of Soumela: tradition and history. *Orientalia suecana* 19/20 (1970/71) 63 – 80, hier 76; idem, The place of the Anapeson of Soumela in Byzantine Art. *Oriens Christianus* 55 (1971) 195 – 203, hier 195 gibt (jedoch ohne Quellenverweis) den 15. 8. 1923 als jenen Tag an, an dem die letzten Mönche das Kloster verlassen mussten.

58 Vgl. die lebhafte Schilderung der Bemühungen, die Gebeine des Kaisers Alexios IV. Megas Komnenos (zu deren Auffindung und zu seinem Grab vgl. F. Uspenskij, Усыпальница царя Алексея IV в Трапезунте. *VV* 23 [1917/22] 1 – 14; A. Bryer, „The faithless Kabazitai and Scholarioi“, in: Maistor. Classical, Byzantine and Renaissance Studies for R. Browning, ed. A. Moffatt. *Byzantina Australensia*, 5. Canberra 1984, 309 – 327 [= idem, Peoples and settlement, wie oben Fußnote 3, VII], hier 325 – 326) aus dem Land zu schaffen bei G. Th. Kandelaptes, Τὸ ἱστορικὸν τῆς εἰς Ἑλλάδα μεταφορᾶς τῶν ὀστῶν τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος τῆς Τραπεζοῦντος Ἀλεξίου Δ´ Κομνηνοῦ. *Pontiaka Phylla* 2/16 (1937) 186 – 188.

denen Exemplare des wichtigsten Schriftstücks, des *chrysobullos logos* des Kaisers Alexios III. Megas Komnenos aus dem Jahre 1364, sämtlich Kopien seien, fiel die Entscheidung, die vom Patriarchen Iakobos und der *synodos endemusa* bestätigte Doppelkopie (zusammen mit der Abschrift eines griechischen Privilegs des Fürsten von Walachei Alexandros Hypselantes [Ypsilantis])[59] auf die beschwerliche Reise mitzunehmen. Diese werden, wie wir gesehen haben, heute am Byzantinischen Museum in Athen aufbewahrt.

Die Mitnahme weiterer Zimelien, die für das Kloster von zentraler Bedeutung waren, schien wohl nicht möglich, so dass diese im Metochion der hl. Barbara (also bewusst außerhalb der Räumlichkeiten des eigentlichen Klosters) in einer Truhe verborgen und vergraben wurden. Es handelte sich dabei um die der Tradition nach vom Evangelisten Lukas angefertigte Ikone der Muttergottes, ein von Kaiser Manuel III. Megas Komnenos dem Kloster gestiftetes Reliquiar sowie ein Evangeliar mit besonders prunkvollem Einband (Codex Sumela Nr. 81). Nach dem Abschluss des Freundschaftsvertrags zwischen Griechenland und der Türkei (1930) willigte der türkische Ministerpräsident Mustafa İsmet Paşa [İnönü] († 1973) anlässlich seines Staatsbesuchs in Athen in die Überführung dieser Gegenstände nach Griechenland ein (1931). Die begrabenen Schätze wurden von Ambrosios, einem ehemaligen Mönch des Klosters, ausgehoben und nach Athen gebracht.[60] Das (vom Prunkeinband abgesehen) völlig zerstörte Tetraevangeliar befindet sich heute am Byzantinischen Museum in Athen;[61] das Reliquienkreuz und die Ikone der Muttergottes wurden hingegen dem neu gegründeten Kloster der Panagia Sumela bei Nausa übergeben.[62]

59 Vgl. die Abbildung bei Charalampidu, Μονή (wie oben Fußnote 15) 142 (mit Datierung ins Jahr 1715); Pallas, Κατάλογος (wie oben Fußnote 15) 91 – 92 (Nr. 34). Es ist wohl kein Zufall, dass die nichtgriechischen (kirchenslawischen, rumänischen) Privilegien von Herrschern der Donaufürstentümer *nicht* mitgenommen wurden.

60 Vgl. Bryer/Winfield, Topography (wie oben Fußnote 3) 283 mit Fußnote 212 (zum Metochion der hl. Barbara); Ambrosios (Sumeliotes), Ἡ τελευταία τραγικὴ ἐπίσκεψις εἰς τὴν Μονὴν τῆς Παναγίας Σουμελᾶ. *Pontiake Hestia* 1/7 (1950) 423 – 428. Das Protokoll der Übergabe der Gegenstände (datiert am 8. 11. 1931) abgebildet bei Charalampidu, Μονή (wie oben Fußnote 15) 150 – 153.

61 Pallas, Κατάλογος (wie oben Fußnote 15) 14 (Signatur Κ. Πρ. 101); eine sehr gute Farbabbildung des Einbands bei Charalampidu, Μονή (wie oben Fußnote 15) 121, sowie bei Mellas, Τραπεζούς (wie oben Fußnote 15) I 358.

62 A. Rhoby, Byzantinische Epigramme auf Ikonen und Objekten der Kleinkunst nebst Addenda zu Band 1 „Byzantinische Epigramme auf Fresken und Mosaiken". *ÖAW, Denkschriften der phil.-hist. Klasse*, 408 = *Veröffentlichungen zur Byzanzforschung*, 23. Wien 2010, 298 – 299 (Reliquienschrein und Reliquienkreuz; mit weiterer Literatur); Ἐρατεινὴ Ἠμαθία. Lovely Imathia. o. O. o. J., 467 – 469; Charalampidu, Μονή (wie oben Fußnote 15) 119 (gute Farbabb.).

Die meisten Gegenstände – etwa (mit Ausnahme des oben erwähnten Cod. 81) die ganze Bibliothek und auch das Archiv – mussten jedoch an Ort und Stelle zurückgelassen werden. Es lag also die Vermutung nahe, dass sie bei den wiederholten Verwüstungen des Klosters durch Feuer und durch Plünderung vernichtet wurden. Indes berichtete A. Deissmann am Anfang der 30er Jahre von Handschriften in Istanbul und Ankara, die er als ehemaligen Bestandteil der Bibliothek des Klosters Sumela identifizieren zu können glaubte.[63] Seine Vermutungen haben sich später bestätigt, und im Laufe der folgenden Jahrzehnte wurden in Ankara etliche Handschriften dingfest gemacht, für die sich eine Provenienz aus dem Kloster Sumela nachweisen lässt.[64] Das Klosterarchiv schien im Gegensatz zu den Handschriften spurlos verschwunden zu sein, bis im Jahre 1987 Ş. Başeğmez auf den Fund der meisten Dokumente aus dem Klosterarchiv von Sumela im Aysofia Müzesi in Istanbul hinweisen konnte. Doch wurde seine schwer zugängliche Publikation für lange Zeit einzig von A. Bryer rezipiert.[65] Unter den aufgetauchten Dokumenten befand sich auch das (mutmaßliche) Original, von dessen Stifterporträt und Eingangspartien Bryer im Jahre 1988 eine nicht sehr aussagekräftige Abbildung veröffentlichte.[66] Eine weitere Abbildung wurde im Jahre 2009 publiziert[67], doch öffnete erst der etwa um dieselbe Zeit erschienene,

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63 Vgl. A. Deissmann, Forschungen und Funde im Serai. Mit einem Verzeichnis der nichtislamischen Handschriften im Topkapu Serai zu Istanbul. Berlin/Leipzig 1933, 130 (Nr. 119); A. Deissmann, Handschriften aus Anatolien in Ankara und Izmit. *Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft und die Kunde der älteren Kirche* 34 (1935) 262 – 284.

64 N. A. Bees, Ποντιακὰ χειρόγραφα ἐν τῷ Μουσείῳ τοῦ Κάστρου τῆς Ἀγκύρας. *Archeion Pontu* 9 (1939) 193 – 248; P. Moraux, Manuscrits de Trébizonde au Musée archéologique d'Ankara. *Script* 19 (1965) 269 – 273; P. Moraux, Manuscrits de Souméla conservés à Ankara. *AnBoll* 95 (1977) 261 – 268; Ch. Karanasios, Bericht über die griechischen Handschriften in Ankara und Bemerkungen zu den codd. ΕΦΣΚ 10, 62 und 132. *Hellenika* 42 (1991/92) 317 – 327. Zu einer heute in Birmingham aufbewahrten Handschrift vgl. J. Neville Birdsall, A manuscript of the monastery of the Soumela, Trebizond, now at Selly Oak, Birmingham. *BMGS* 14 (1990) 241 – 245.

65 Ş. Başeğmez, Trabzon Rum İmparatoru Aleksios Komnenos'un Fermanları. *Antika. The Turkish Journal of Collectable Art* 2/22 (1987) 10 – 29 (mit ausführlicher englischer Zusammenfassung); A. Bryer, Introduction, in ders., Peoples and settlement (wie oben Fußnote 3) vii–x, hier vii; A. Bryer, Introduction, in Bryer/Winfield/Ballance/Isaac, Post-Byzantine monuments (wie oben Fußnote 3) vii–xix, hier ix, xiii. Die Ausführungen von Başeğmez sind zwar für ein breiteres Publikum gedacht, basieren jedoch auf guter Literaturkenntnis und kommen (auch angesichts der Möglichkeit, mit der Urkunde selbst zu arbeiten) zu der richtigen Schlussfolgerung; vgl. weiter unten im Text. Einzig die Behauptung (S. 28), dass Papadopulos-Kerameus die Urkunde nie selbst eingesehen habe und daher von Kyriakides abhängig sei, trifft nicht zu.

66 Bryer, Peoples and settlement (wie oben Fußnote 3), Frontispizblatt (Abbildung nach Başeğmez).

67 Charalampidu, Μονή (wie oben Fußnote 15) 135 (nicht beschriftete, stark verkleinerte Abbildung rechts oben).

reich bebilderte Band von A. Mellas den Weg für die Lösung der Frage bezüglich der Identität des Schriftstücks. Die von A. Mellas veröffentlichten guten Farbabbildungen – leider wurde nicht die ganze Urkunde aufgenommen[68] – ermöglichen es, die oben referierte Analyse des Dokuments durch A. Papadopulos-Kerameus in vollem Umfang zu bestätigen

Der tiefgelbe Ton des Papiers, vor allem aber seine Brüchigkeit und die stellenweise erkennbare ungleichmäßige Struktur deuten darauf hin, dass in der Tat orientalisches Papier vorliegt und der Beschreibstoff somit alt sein muss.[69] Die Schrift kommt jener des um zehn Jahre später ausgestellten *chrysobullos logos* für das Athoskloster Dionysiu sehr nahe, auch wenn man wohl von verschiedenen Schreibern ausgehen muss; der Kopist der späteren Urkunde scheint jedenfalls besser geschult gewesen zu sein. In beiden Fällen handelt es sich um die typische Reservatschrift der Kaiserkanzlei, die Originale aus der konstantinopolitanischen Produktion des 11. Jahrhunderts nachahmt[70] und sowohl hinsichtlich einzelner Buchstabenformen als auch hinsichtlich des Gesamteindrucks unverwechselbar ist. Sie hätte von einem nicht eigens dafür ausgebildeten oder gar wesentlich späteren Kopisten kaum glaubwürdig nachgeahmt werden können. Die Rotworte sind korrekt eingesetzt (βασιλεία μου, λόγος, in der Datierung Monat, Indiktion und Jahreszahl) und stimmen diesbezüglich mit dem Befund des *chrysobullos logos* für das Athoskloster Dionysiu überein.[71] Die Züge der kaiserlichen Unterschrift, die ebenfalls mit roter Tinte ausgeführt ist, sind mit jenen des *chrysobullos logos* für das Athoskloster Dionysiu direkt vergleichbar, wenn auch ebenfalls weniger geübt. Die letzte Zeile der kaiserlichen Unterschrift ist nachgezogen, da der Beschreibstoff an dieser (durch Reibung beanspruchten) Stelle brüchig und beschädigt ist.

Auch das gewiss ungewöhnliche Stifterporträt ist nicht schwer zu deuten. Es handelt sich um eine auf den ersten Blick als postbyzantinisch zu identifizierende Arbeit; die Promulgationszeile sowie die Zierinitiale am Eingang des Dokuments und ein Teil der ersten Zeile sind aus paläographischen Gründen sehr spät anzusetzen, jedenfalls nach 1600. Das wäre natürlich mit dem genuinen Charakter der Urkunde unvereinbar, wäre auf der Abbildung nicht klar eine Bruchstelle zwischen Miniatur samt den oben erwähnten kurzen Textpartien und dem eigentlichen Urkundentext zu erkennen, die so unregelmäßig verläuft, dass sie nicht der Nahtstelle zwischen zwei *kollemata* entsprechen kann.

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68 Mellas, Τραπεζούς (wie oben Fußnote 15) 337 – 339.
69 Zum Beschreibstoff vgl. oben Fußnote 54.
70 Vgl. die Bemerkungen von Oikonomides, Chancery (wie oben Fußnote 3) 317.
71 Vgl. Oikonomidès, Actes (wie oben Fußnote 2) 59 – 61.

Aus praktischen Gründen wurde der *chrysobullos logos* so eingerollt, dass der untere Rand das Innerste des Rotulus und der obere Rand die Außenseite bildeten; damit wurde sichergestellt, dass der Text beim Aufrollen sofort und in richtiger Reihenfolge lesbar wurde. Die am stärksten mechanisch beanspruchten Partien waren dabei einerseits der untere Rand (einen Hinweis darauf liefert die letzte, beschädigte Zeile der kaiserlichen Unterschrift, die teilweise nachgezogen werden musste), vor allem aber der obere Rand, der bei jeder Manipulierung der Urkunde zu leiden hatte. Die brüchige Konsistenz des orientalischen Papiers tat ein Übriges, und so ist es nicht verwunderlich, dass das ursprüngliche Stifterporträt bald in Mitleidenschaft gezogen wurde. Offenbar verschlechterte sich der Zustand dieser Eingangspartie des Dokuments so sehr, dass sich die Mönche dafür entschieden, diese ganz mit einer Imitation der originalen Miniatur zu ersetzen.[72] Wo und wann dies geschah, lässt sich nicht bestimmen; ein rumänischer Konnex wäre eine plausible Konjektur.[73] Auf jeden Fall reflektiert diese Miniatur (wohl nur sehr unvollkommen) ein ursprüngliches Stifterporträt, das aus stemmatischen Gründen, nämlich durch das Original der „Schwesterurkunde" für Dionysiu sowie durch eine weitere, oben bereits kurz gestreifte Doppelkopie des Jahres 1688 bezeugt ist.[74] Interessanterweise scheint die Ausführung der Miniatur auf der Doppelkopie dem Original näher zu stehen als jene auf dem „Original" selbst, wo eine symbolische Abbildung des Rotulus sowie die segnende Hand Gottes (Doppelkopie: Muttergottes mit Jesus) fehlen.[75]

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72 Vgl. auch das Parallelbeispiel des *chrysobullos logos* des Kaisers Ioannes V. Palaiologos vom August 1366 für das Athoskloster Dionysiu, dessen unterer Rand mit einem Teil der kaiserlichen Unterschrift ersetzt und die Unterschrift ergänzt wurde; Oikonomidès, Actes (wie oben Fußnote 2) 47 – 50 (mit Kommentar auf S. 47) und Tf. IV.

73 Zuerst vorgeschlagen von Papadopulos-Kerameus, Κώδικες (wie oben Fußnote 33) 311; diese Ansicht übernommen von Bryer, Peoples and Settlement (wie oben Fußnote 3) vii.

74 Vgl. oben Fußnote 16.

75 Eine kurze Erwähnung der Miniatur findet sich bei I. Spatharakis, The portrait in Byzantine illuminated manuscripts. *Byzantina Neerlandica*, 6. Leiden 1976, 185 – 187, hier 187 mit Fußnote 14 (verschollen; besprochen im Zusammenhang mit dem *chrysobullos logos* des Alexios III. Megas Komnenos für das Athoskloster Dionysiu); Bryer, Peoples and settlement (wie oben Fußnote 3), S. vii (richtige Interpretation des Befundes, basierend auf Papadopulos-Kerameus, jedoch ohne explizite Erwähnung); H. Kalligas, The miniatures in the Chrysobulls of Andronikos II for Monemvasia, in R. M. Šukurov (Hrsg.), Море и берега. К 60-летию Сергея Павловича Карпова от коллег и учеников. Moskau 2009, 365 – 377, hier 369 (kurze Erwähnung; verschollen); A. Cutler, Legal iconicity: the documentary image, the problem of genre, and the work of the beholder, in C. Hourihane (ed.), Byzantine art: recent studies. Essays in honor of L. Drewer. Princeton/Tempe/Turnhout 2009, 63 – 79, hier 75 – 76 mit Abb. 8 (nach Başeğmez) (teils widersprüchliche Angaben). Vgl. allgemein auch V. Djurić, Портрети на повељама византийских и српских владара. *Zbornik filozofskog fakulteta* 7 (1963) 251 – 272; zu illuminierten (Herrscher)

Leiten wir nun den Schlussakt unserer kleinen *Comedy of Errors* ein: Das zuletzt untersuchte Schriftstück, das heute im Aysofia Müzesi (Inventarnr. 12901) aufbewahrt wird, ist zweifelsfrei ein Original (mit unechtem, aber nicht „gefälschtem“ Stifterporträt), das im Dezember des Jahres 1364 von der trapezuntinischen Kaiserkanzlei ausgestellt und von Kaiser Alexios III. Megas Komnenos im Kaiserpalast zu Trapezunt eigenhändig unterfertigt wurde. Wenn wir mit dem Leser bewusst ein – hoffentlich unterhaltsames – Spiel getrieben haben, so geschah dies, um die Möglichkeiten, Grenzen und den Nutzen der Quellenkritik aufzuzeigen, gleichsam als Hommage an jenen Mann, der im Jahre 1884 das Richtige erkannt hatte (und zum Schaden der Mönchsgemeinschaft nicht erhört wurde).

urkunden vgl. auch die georgischen Parallelbeispiele bei Z. Aleksidze / B. Kudava, Dated Georgian manuscripts 9th–16th cc. An album. Tbilissi 2015, 219 (a. 1460), 233 (a. 1470), 246 (a. 1494), 307 (a. 1586).

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An unpublished poem on Porphyry

Abstract: This paper offers an *editio princeps*, an English translation and a commentary of an interesting epigram on Porphyry, the commentator of Aristotle. The epigram was transcribed in Vat. Reg. 166 by Ioannes Malaxos (16th c.) and is ascribed to Petros Servilos, a poet unknown from other sources. The paper discusses the poem's manuscript context, as well as its authorship, genre, content and function. Further, it attempts to shed light on the poem's relation to Porphyry's philosophy and his reception in Byzantine poetry.

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1. Introduction

Despite writing an anti-Christian work,[1] Porphyry was popular in Byzantium mainly because of his *Eisagoge*, which became the standard handbook for the teaching of Aristotle's logic and philosophy in general.[2] A witness of Porphyry's reception is an unpublished encomiastic epigram that is transmitted in the paper-octavo codex Vat. Reg. 166, f. 14v–15r as part of a small poetic collection transcribed by Ioannes Malaxos (16th c.). In the present study I provide an *editio princeps* of the epigram accompanied by an English translation, a commentary, as well as information about its manuscript context and its function.

This paper was written within the framework of the project Database of Byzantine Book Epigrams (DBBE) funded by the Special Research Fund of Ghent University. It has been much improved during my research stay at the Academia Belgica in Rome, where I had the opportunity to consult Vat. Reg. 166 in situ. I would like to express my sincere thanks to the director of the DBBE, Prof. Kristoffel Demoen for his support and his useful comments, to the Academia Belgica of Rome for the one-month scholarship in May 2017, as well as to the two anonymous reviewers for their valuable remarks.

1 This work is entitled *Against the Christians* and is preserved today in fragments, cf. the *Suda* π 2098, s.v. Πορφύριος.

2 The popularity of his *Eisagoge* is attested by the large number of Byzantine manuscripts that transmit it (more than 150); see J. Barnes, Porphyry, Introduction. Oxford 2003, xix–xxii, cf. Pinakes: http://pinakes.irht.cnrs.fr/recherche-generale.html (last consulted on 04.03.2018).

Vat. Reg. 166 is a miscellaneous manuscript transcribed by two scribes in the 13th and 16th centuries. The older part of the manuscript, which consists of oriental paper and forms its core, transmits Manasses' *Synopsis Chronike* (f. 1r–12v, 39r–206v, 215r–217v) and was copied by an unidentified scribe. The rest of the manuscript was transcribed in the 16th century by Ioannes Malaxos and contains additions to Manasses' *Synopsis Chronike* (f. 18r–38v, 207r–211v) and twelve epigrams on various subjects (f. 13v–15v, 207r, 212r–214v). [3] Malaxos' additions to the manuscript are distinguished not only by his writing style, but also by the use of Western paper. Most of the epigrams, incorporated into Malaxos' collection, were inscriptions on Athenian or Constantinopolitan monuments (e.g. the epigrams on the Pammakaristos Church, on Sts. Sergios and Bakchos and the sarcophagus of the emperor Nicephoros Phokas) and reveal the antiquarian interests of Malaxos, as well as his tendency to preserve traces of Constantinople's splendid Greek past, considering that it was at that time under Ottoman rule.[4]

Malaxos' poetic collection in Vat. Reg. 166 ends with a monogrammatic inscription, which refers again to the Pammakaristos church (Fethiye Camii) and specifically to its patron Michael Doukas Glabas Tarchaneiotes (13 – 14th c.).[5]

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3 For a description of the manuscript's content, see E. Stevenson, Codices manuscripti Graeci Reginae Suecorum et Pii PP. II Bibliothecae Vaticanae. Rome 1888, 112 – 114. For the date of the manuscript and the identification of Malaxos' hand see P. Schreiner, John Malaxos (16th Century) and his collection of Antiquitates Constantinopolitanae, in N. Necipoğlu (ed.), Byzantine Constantinople: Monuments, topography and everyday life. Leiden/ Boston/Köln 2001, 206. According to Schreiner, the watermark of the paper used by Malaxos is dated to 1547. For the scribal activity of Ioannes Malaxos in general, see G. De Gregorio, Studi su copisti greci del tardo Cinquencento: II. Ioannes Malaxos e Theodosios Zygomalas. *Römische Historische Mitteilungen* 38 (1996) 189 – 268.

4 On Malaxos' patriotism and his tendency to collect texts of antiquarian interests, see Schreiner, John Malaxos (as footnote 3 above) 213 – 214 and M. Lauxtermann, "And many, many more": a sixteenth-century description of private libraries in Constantinople, and the authority of Books, in P. Armstrong (ed.), Authority in Byzantium. Aldershot 2013, 281 – 282. For a complete list of the poems' incipits, see Stevenson, Codices (as footnote 3 above) 113 – 114. Several of these epigrams can also be found in other manuscripts transcribed by Malaxos: see De Gregorio, Studi (as footnote 3 above) passim, Schreiner, John Malaxos (as footnote 3 above) 206 – 207 and Lauxtermann, ibid. 275 (footnote 24). The corpus of the inscriptional epigrams on monuments is also preserved in the codex Vind. Hist. gr. 98, see J. Burke, Mainstream texts, viral media and hidden agendas in the tradition of patria texts, in D. Sakel (ed.), Byzantine culture. Papers from the Conference 'Byzantine Days of Istanbul' held on the occasion of Istanbul being European Cultural Capital 2010, May 21 – 23 2010. Ankara 2014, 393 – 394. However, Porphyry's poem is not transmitted in any of these manuscripts.

5 Malaxos transcribed texts related to Pammakaristos in other manuscripts too (e.g. Vind. Med. Gr. 43 and Vind. Hist. gr. 98), see indicatively De Gregorio, Studi (as footnote 3 above) 204,

This is not accidental and indicates Malaxos' relation to the Pammakaristos church, which served as the seat of the Patriarchate from 1456 – 1587.[6] We can therefore assume that the Vat. Reg. 166 was copied by Malaxos in the Patriarchate.

The epigrams which occur in f. 13v–15v along with the poem on Porphyry are the following: [7]

1. *On Gregory of Nazianzus*, Inc. Γρηγόριος μούσας πολλῷ πλέον ἤπερ Ὅμηρος (f. 13v)
2. *Epigram inscribed on a marble in Athens*, Inc. Ὅστις, καὶ τίνος εἰμί, τὰ πρῶτα γράμματα φράσει (f. 13v)
3. *Epigram inscribed on the church of Saints Sergius and Bacchus in Constantinople*, Inc. Ἄλλοι μὲν βασιλῆες ἐτιμήσαντο θανόντας (f. 14r)
4. *On Porphyry*, Inc. Σὺ πορφυροῦν πέδιλον ἐν λόγοις φέρων (f. 14v–15r)
5. *On a statue of Nemesis*, *AG* 16.223, Inc. Ἡ Νέμεσις προλέγει τῷ πήχεϊ τῷ τε χαλινῷ (f. 15v)
6. *On a statue of Nemesis*, *AG* 16.224, Inc. Ἡ Νέμεσις πῆχυν κατέχω. "Τίνος οὕνεκα;" Λέξεις (f. 15v)

Four of these epigrams are inscriptional *sensu stricto*, since they were inscribed in monuments or artefacts, whereas the poems on Gregory and Porphyry can be considered book epigrams and hence have an inscriptional nature. The so-called book epigrams are poems on ancient and Byzantine authors, verse colophons, verse scholia, verse summaries, titles and other metrical paratexts, which were meant to accompany the main text of a manuscript or its miniatures. Since they often refer to the author, the scribe, the patron, the content of the manuscript and the way it has to be read, they offer important information about the reception of specific authors and texts, the manuscript production and the reading habits in medieval times. Their similarities with the inscriptional epi-

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222 and Schreiner, John Malaxos (as footnote 3 above) 207, 213. Cf. P. Schreiner, Eine unbekannte Beschreibung der Pammakaristoskirche (Fethiye Camii) und weitere Texte zur Topographie Konstantinopels. *DOP* 25 (1971) 217 – 248. – I would like to thank my colleague, Sien de Groot, for sending me a drawing of the monogrammatic inscription of the manuscript during her research stay in Rome.

6 De Gregorio, Studi (as footnote 3 above) 191, 261 was the first to relate Ioannes Malaxos' scribal activity to the Patriarchate. According also to Burke, Mainstream texts (as footnote 4 above) 392, both Ioannes Malaxos and his brother Manuel "were active in the environment of the Patriarchate from the 1550s to the 1570s and beyond", cf. Schreiner, John Malaxos (as footnote 3 above) 205.

7 Cf. I. Vassis, Initia carminorum Byzantinorum. *Supplementa Byzantina*, 8. Berlin / New York 2005, 125, 32, 702.

grams are noteworthy; frequently they share the same motifs or are executed in the same script (e. g. the so-called "Auszeichnungsmajuskel") thereby giving the impression that they function as "inscriptions" on manuscripts.[8] By incorporating only epigrams in his poetic collection, Malaxos may have perceived the book epigrams as inscriptional too.[9]

The epigram on Gregory of Nazianzus was probably composed by the well-known Cretan humanist Zacharias Skordylios (16th c.) and functions as book epigram in his Venetian edition of Nicetas David's commentary on Gregory's *Tetrasticha*.[10] Zarcharias Skordylios served for several years in Venice as an officer of the Patriarchate[11] and could have come into contact with Ioannes Malaxos, who was also associated with the Patriarchate and possibly stayed for a certain period in the West.[12] In any case, it is interesting that Malaxos included in his poetic collection an epigram used by Skordylios, one of his contemporaries.

Porphyry's poem is ascribed to a poet called Petros Servilos, unknown from other sources. The surname *Σερβίλος* may allude to the Latin word *servilis* (servile) and may indicate that this poet had an Italian origin or was associated

8 For the so-called book epigrams see A. D. Kominis, Τὸ βυζαντινὸν ἱερὸν ἐπίγραμμα. Athens 1966, 38 – 45; M. D. Lauxtermann, Byzantine poetry from Pisides to Geometres. *WBS*, 24/1-Vienna 2003, 197 – 212; F. Bernard, Writing and reading Byzantine secular poetry, 1025 – 1081. Oxford 2014, 28 – 29, 64 – 84, 130 – 135, 313 – 322 and the Database of Byzantine Book Epigrams (DBBE): http://www.dbbe.ugent.be/about (last consulted on 04. 03. 2018).

9 Cf. Maximos Planudes' epigram on Manuel Philes, another *book epigram* which has been transcribed by Malaxos on f. 213r. Inc. Ῥητῆρος Μεγάλου τὰ μυρίπνοα ᾄσματα ταῦτα, cf. Vassis, Initia (as footnote 7 above) 661.

10 The epigram is attributed to Scipione Forteguerri (Carteromaco) in *PG* 35, 356, however in Skordylios' edition of Nicetas David's commentary on Gregory's *Tetrasticha* the poem is ascribed to Zacharias Skordylios, see Z. Skordylios, Νικήτα φιλοσόφου τοῦ καὶ Δαβὶδ ἑρμηνεία εἰς τὰ τετράστιχα τοῦ μεγάλου πατρὸς Γρηγορίου τοῦ Ναζιανζηνοῦ. Τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἑρμηνεία εἰς τὰ μονόστιχα. Τοῦ αὐτοῦ εἰς τὰ ἐπιγράμματα τὰ εἰς τὸν μέγαν Βασίλειον, παράφρασις. Ἰωάννου Γεωμέτρου, ἐπιγράμματα. Venetiis 1563, 56r. Cf. Vassis, Initia (as footnote 7 above) 125 and the DBBE: http://www.dbbe.ugent.be/typ/2448 (last consulted on 04. 03. 2018).

11 See P. Meyer, Die theologische Literatur der griechischen Kirche im 16. Jahrhundert. Leipzig 1899 (Aalen 1972), 85.

12 For the possibility that Ioannes stayed in the West see De Gregorio, Studi (as footnote 3 above) 192. Manuel Malaxos, Ioannes' brother, stayed several years in Venice, see G. De Gregorio, Studi su copisti greci del tardo cinquecento: I. Ancora Manuel Malaxos. *Römische Historische Mitteilungen* 37 (1995) 136 – 138. For a short reference to the relation of the Malaxos family to Venice see Ch. Gastgeber, Neues zur Familie der Malaxoi. Zwei autographe Schreiben von Nikolaos und Staurakios Malaxos. *JÖB* 48 (1998) 273.

with Italy. It is possible that he belonged to the same intellectual circle as Zacharias Skordylios in Venice. Servilos' activity might therefore be traced to Venice or to the intellectual circles of the Patriarchate, where both Malaxos and Skordylios belonged.

Porphyry's poem is an encomiastic epigram which was intended to accompany exegetical works by Porphyry on Aristotle. Since there is no other text in the manuscript related to Porphyry or Aristotle, it is clear that the epigram is here separated from its original context. The poet addresses Porphyry in the first ten verses. By making use of the common pun on his name (Πορφύριος–πορφύρα), he metaphorically compares him to an emperor (vv. 1–2), the purple of a shell (v. 3) and a purple flower (v. 5). He additionally calls him νοῦν ("intellect") because of his ability to clarify Aristotle's enigmatic meanings (vv. 6–10). A third person narration occurs in the last five verses, where Porphyry is compared to a stream of words and is further praised for his clear interpretation of Aristotle's obscure meanings.

Servilos' language is characterized by an extensive use of metaphors related to Porphyry's name and a vocabulary (e.g. λόγος, νόημα, ἐνθύμημα, αἴνιγμα) alluding to his commentaries on Aristotle's Logic. As far as the meter is concerned, the poem is composed in Byzantine dodecasyllables and respects the twelve-syllable rule, the paroxytony, the prosodic norms (with the exception of the term φιλοσόφοις in v. 2),[13] as well as the avoidance of hiatus. The majority of his verses (60%) have a caesura ("Binnenschluss") after the 5th syllable (B5), and the rest (40%) after the 7th syllable (B7). As regards the relation of the stresses with the caesurae, 40% of the verses consist of an oxytone B5, 20% of a paroxytone B5, and 40% of a proparoxytone B7. These results demonstrate that Servilos follows the common rhythmotonic pattern of dodecasyllables.

The poem is written on f. 14v–15r in a cursive script which consists of some *fettaugen* elements (e.g. outstanding round omega, *fettaugen* beta, prolonged descenders of alpha). Its initial is enlarged and its ending is marked with the common closing sign (:–). Due to the informal character of Malaxos' script and to the lack of decorative elements, we could suppose that Malaxos transcribed this small poetic collection for personal use.

It is worth noting that there are no orthographical errors in the poem, but as regards the enclitics, some irregularities from the classical norms can be observed. For instance, the conjunction τε (v. 14) is accentuated in the manuscript

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13 This is a usual exception in dodecasyllables, see indicatively the poems 236, 2 and 237, 1 by Ioannes Geometres in M. Tomadaki, Ιωάννης Γεωμέτρης, Ιαμβικά Ποιήματα, Κριτική έκδοση, μετάφραση και σχόλια. PhD Thesis, Aristotle University of Thessaloniki 2014, 207–208.

although it is preceded by an oxytonic word. I removed the accent since it does not play any role for the rhythm of the verse; whereas I retained the accentuated form of the particle δὲ (v. 3), in order to avoid a proparoxytonic B5.[14] The current edition also only partly follows the punctuation of the manuscript. It is interesting that in most cases Malaxos places a middle dot at the end of each metaphor on Porphyry (e. g. vv. 2, 4, 10) and a comma for indicating a short pause (e. g. vv. 1, 9).

2. Edition and Translation

'Επίγραμμα εἰς τὸν Πορφύριον, Πέτρου τοῦ Σερβίλου

Σὺ πορφυροῦν πέδιλον ἐν λόγοις φέρων
αὐτοκράτωρ πέφηνας ἐν φιλοσόφοις·
τῇ κογχύλῃ δὲ τῶν σοφῶν νοημάτων
βάπτεις ἐρυθρὰς τῶν νοσούντων τὰς φρένας.
5 Ὦ πορφυρόχρουν ἄνθος ἐνθυμημάτων,
ὦ νοῦ, διαρκοῦν εἰς πλοκὰς Σταγειρίτου,
ἃς ἐξαπλοῦν ἔοικας ἐντέχνως ἄγαν
σειρὰς λύων μάλιστα τῶν αἰνιγμάτων·
σφίγγων γὰρ αὐτὰς ἰσχυρῶς Σταγειρίτης,
10 αἰνιγματώδεις ἐξανίσχει τοὺς λόγους.
Ἀλλ' ἡ προσοῦσα τῷ σοφῷ Πορφυρίῳ
χάρις ἀνεξάντλητος, ἡ βρύσις λόγων ||
ἐρυθροποιεῖ τὰ σκότει κεκρυμμένα,
λαμπρῶς τε παμφαίνοντα δεικνύει τάδε
15 εἰς ὠκεανὸν ὡσπερεὶ λελουμένα.

2 cf. Porph. *Vita Plotini* 17.6 **3–4** cf. *AP* IX, 214 **14–15** cf. Hom. *Il.* 5.6

6 νοῦς cod. **14** τὲ cod.

By wearing a purple sandal in the discourses | you appeared as an emperor among the philosophers; | and with the purple of the wise concepts | you dye red the minds of those who are sick. | Oh purple-coloured flower of enthymemes, | Oh intellect, endur-

14 Proparoxytonic B5 is less common in dodecasyllables.

ing in the complications of the Stagirite, | which you seem to very skillfully unfold, | thereby even unbinding the ropes of the riddles. | As the Stagirite tightens them strongly, | he keeps his words enigmatic; | but the inexhaustible charm attached to the wise Porphyry, the stream of the words, | makes purple the things that are hidden by darkness | and also makes them shine brightly, | as if they have been bathed in the ocean.

3. Commentary

1–2 Due to his name and his style of writing, Porphyry deserves the title of the emperor among the philosophers. This image alludes both to the biographical tradition of Porphyry, as well as to the official clothing of the Byzantine emperors. According to the *Life of Plotinus*, Porphyry was born in Tyre, the city of purple in Phoenicia, and his name was 'Malcus', which in Greek means βασιλεύς ("king").[15] Eunapius (*Lives of Sophists* 4.1) reports that Longinus changed his name to "Porphyry" in reference to the imperial dress. As for the purple sandal mentioned in the first verse, it should be noted that purple sandals were a characteristic element of the Byzantine emperor's official outfit. Along with other important imperial regalia (e.g. the crown and the so-called *loros*), they signified the imperial rank.[16]

3 νόημα: This is a Porphyrian term, recalling his theory on the semantic interpretation of the Categories and the formation of concepts, which was mainly developed in the *Commentaries on Aristotle's Categories.*[17] Porphyry's short commentary on the *Categories* is extant, whereas his long commentary on the same subject (*Ad Gedalium*) is preserved only in fragments.[18]

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15 "Βασιλεὺς δὲ τοὔνομα τῷ Πορφυρίῳ ἐμοὶ προσῆν, κατὰ μὲν πάτριον διάλεκτον Μάλκῳ κεκλημένῳ, ὅπερ μοι καὶ ὁ πατὴρ ὄνομα κέκλητο, τοῦ δὲ Μάλκου ἑρμηνείαν ἔχοντος βασιλεύς" (*The life of Plotinus* 17.6). Cf. the *Suda* π 2098: "Πορφύριος, ὁ κατὰ Χριστιανῶν γράψας· ὃς κυρίως ἐκαλεῖτο Βασιλεύς".

16 J.L. Ball, Byzantine dress. Representations of secular dress in eighth- to twelfth-century painting. New York 2005, 13.

17 See G. Karamanolis, Why did Porphyry write Aristotelian Commentaries?, in B. Strobel (ed.), Die Kunst der philosophischen Exegese bei den antiken Platon- und Aristoteles-Kommentatoren. *Philosophen der Antike*, 36. Berlin / New York 2018 (in print).

18 See R. Chiaradonna, Porphyry and the Aristotelian tradition, in A. Falcon (ed.), Brill's Companion to the reception of Aristotle in antiquity. Leiden/Boston 2016, 322. The short commen-

3–4: Porphyry dyes purple and thereby illuminates the minds of those who are suffering from ignorance. The phrase “τῶν νοσούντων τὰς φρένας” indicates the lack of knowledge.[19] A similar metaphor with “κογχύλη” occurs in Leo the Philosopher’s epigram on Porphyry, which is transmitted in the *Anthologia Palatina* (IX.214): Τῇ τῶν λόγων σου κογχύλῃ, Πορφύριε, / βάπτεις τα χείλη και στολίζεις τὰς φρένας (“With the purple of your words, Porphyry/ you dye the lips and adorn the mind”).[20] Since there are significant resemblances between the two epigrams both in meaning and vocabulary (κογχύλη, βάπτω, φρένες), we could assume that Servilos knew Leo’s epigram and slightly changed his metaphor. It is worth adding that both Westerink and Wilson argued that Leo’s epigram is probably related to Porphyry’s *Eisagoge*.[21] Interestingly, the epigram functions as a book epigram in Vat. gr. 305 (f. 171r) accompanying Porphyry’s *Homeric Questions*.[22]

5 ἐνθύμημα: This is a philosophical term related to Aristotle’s Logic and carries the meaning of “syllogism”, cf. *LSJ* s. v. “ἐνθύμημα” 3: “in Aristotle’s Logic, *enthymeme, rhetorical syllogism drawn from probable premises* (ἐξ εἰκότων ἢ σημείων), opp. ἀποδεικτικὸς συλλογισμός”.

5–10 Porphyry is addressed as a red flower (ἄνθος, v. 5) and intellect (νοῦς, v. 6) and resists against Aristotle’s complicated syllogisms.[23] The use of the verb ἐξαπλόω is not random, since it possesses an ambiguous meaning (see *LSJ* s. v. ἐξαπλόω 2: “unfold, explain”) and thus perfectly fits the metaphor of the flower. The term νοῦς (v. 6) may evoke Porphyry’s explanation of the divine intellect[24] or is used for praising Porphyry’s intellectual abilities, which according to the poet solve Aristotle’s riddles. The sharpness and the intellectual skills of Porphyry’s

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tary has been edited by A. Busse, Porphyrii isagoge et in Aristotelis categorias commentarium. *Commentaria in Aristotelem Graeca*, 4/1. Berlin 1887, 55–142.

19 Cf. *LSJ* s.v. νοσῶ.

20 Translation is mine.

21 L.G. Westerink, Leo the Philosopher: Job and other poems. *Illinois Classical Studies* 11 (1986) 194; and N. Wilson, Scholars of Byzantium. London 1983, 84.

22 N. Zagklas, Theodore Prodromos: the neglected poems and epigrams (edition, translation and commentary). PhD thesis, University of Vienna 2014, 142.

23 Cf. *LSJ* s.v. πλοκὴ d.: “construction of a syllogism”.

24 On Porphyry’s interpretation of the divine intellect see A.P. Johnson, Religion and identity in Porphyry of Tyre: the limits of Hellenism in late antiquity. Cambridge 2013, 58–72 and G. Karamanolis, Porphyry: the first Platonist commentator on Aristotle, in M.W.F. Stone (ed.), Philosophy, science and exegesis in Greek, Arabic and Latin commentaries. London 2004, 117. Porphyry’s perception of the intellect has been much influenced by Plotinus’ doctrine of the intellect developed in his *Enneads*, a work that has been compiled and edited by Porphyry himself.

mind are also stressed in the following book epigram, which is placed at the end of Ammonius' commentary on the *Eisagoge* in cod. Plut, 31, 37 (f. 227r).

> Τὸ δραστικὸν κλόνου τε καὶ νοῦ δριμύτης
> τὴν ὀξυτάτην δριμύτητά μοι νόει·
> νοημάτων δύναμίς ἐστι δριμύτης,
> ἰσχὺν χορηγεῖ τοῖς λέγουσι δριμύτης.[25]

> The activity of tumult and also the mind's sharpness
> – consider it as a very acute sharpness –
> this sharpness is the power of concepts,
> it provides strength to those who call it sharpness.[26]

On the other hand, the words πλοκαὶ Σταγειρίτου, αἰνίγματα, αἰνιγματώδεις λόγους indicate Aristotle's obscurity and complexity. Aristotle's enigmatic style is a *topos* in Byzantine texts.[27] Gregory of Nazianzus and Ioannes Geometres, for instance, compare Aristotle's words to labyrinths: Πλέκων λαβυρίνθους δυσδιεξόδοις λόγοις / Ἀριστοτέλους ἤ τινων Πυῤῥωννίων (Greg. Naz. Poem. I 2 10.48 – 49); Ἀριστοτέλους τοὺς σοφοὺς λαβυρίνθους (Io. Geom. Poem 298.104).[28]

11 – 12 Porphyry is further praised for his rhetorical abilities and is depicted as being an unlimited flow of charming words, which echoes the praise bestowed upon him for the beauty of his words by his biographer, Eunapius.[29] David, the commentator of Porphyry, also characterizes Porphyry's *Eisagoge* as a stream of a clear teaching (πηγὴν σαφοῦς διδασκαλίας), and Ianos Laskaris in one of his poems dedicated to Porphyry's *Homeric Questions* depicts Porphyry himself as being a stream. At the beginning of Laskaris' poem, Porphyry addresses his

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25 See Vassis, Initia (as footnote 7 above) 765 and the DBBE: http://www.dbbe.ugent.be/occ/2869 (last consulted on 05. 03. 2018).
26 Translation is mine. I sincerely thank David Shive and Mary Graham for their assistance in translating this epigram.
27 For other examples of this *topos* in Byzantine texts see M. Trizio, Reading and commenting on Aristotle, in A. Kaldellis / N. Siniossoglou (eds), The Cambridge Intellectual History of Byzantium. Cambridge 2017, 403 – 405 and N. Agiotis, Tzetzes on Psellos revisited. *BZ* (2013) 4 – 5.
28 See ed. C. Crimi / M. Kertsch / J. Guirau, Gregorio Nazianzeno sulla virtù carme giambico. *Poeti cristiani*, 1. Pisa 1995, 116 and Tomadaki, Ιωάννης Γεωμέτρης (as footnote 13 above) 248.
29 See the *Lives of the Sophists* 4, 2, 4 – 5: "κάλλος αὐτοῦ τῶν λόγων, τὴν δύναμιν τοῦ λόγου". Cf. Porphyry's rhetorical education and rhetorical works in M. Heath, Porphyry's rhetoric. *Classical Quarterly* 53 (2003) 141 – 166.

learned fellows and encourages them to draw and pour knowledge from an ever-flowing stream (ἀρύτεσθε, σπένδετε πηγῆς | ἀενάου).[30]

11–13 Contrary to Aristotle, Porphyry was praised in Late Antiquity and in Byzantium for his clarity and especially for his ability to clarify Aristotle's philosophical meanings. Eunapius mentions in the *Lives of the Sophists* that Porphyry was an admirer of clarity and brought to light the hidden meanings of the ancient philosophers.[31] Comparable to the last verses of the poem is also the following book epigram on Porphyry by Ioannes Geometres. In this poem Geometres implies that Porphyry shed light on Aristotle's dark meanings. Geometres' epigram can be found in his poetic anthology preserved in cod. Par. Suppl. gr. 352, where it does not function as an actual book epigram, since it does not accompany any text on Porphyry or Aristotle.

> Εἰς Πορφύριον
> Ὁ Πορφύριος λευκὸν Ἀριστοτέλους
> τὸ πορφυροῦν ἔδειξε γνώσεως βάθος.[32]
>
> On Porphyry
> Porphyry presented the purple depth
> of Aristotle's knowledge as white.

In his verse commentary on Porphyry's *Eisagoge*, Ioannes Tzetzes also praises several times Porphyry's clarity. For instance, Tzetzes speaks about Porphyry's sweet and clear style ("Πορφύριος…λεπτῶς σαφηνῶς καὶ γλυκυτάτως γράφων"), the didactic character of his work ("διδασκαλικῶς…γράφει") as well as about his ability to clarify the riddles of Aristotle's *Categories* ("κατηγοριῶν ἐκσαφεῖ γὰρ τοὺς γρίφους").[33]

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30 Inc. Πορφύριος λογίοις· ἀρύτεσθε, σπένδετε πηγῆς, in A. Meschini (ed.), Giano Laskaris, Epigrammi greci. *Studi Bizantini e Neogreci*, 9. Padua 1976, 65, cf. Vassis, Initia (as footnote 7 above) 640.
31 See the *Lives of the Sophists* 4, 1, 9–10.
32 Cf. Ioann. Geom. Poem 35, ed. Tomadaki, Ιωάννης Γεωμέτρης (as footnote 13 above) 85.
33 This verse commentary on Porphyry by Tzetzes is still unpublished, see Vind. Phil. gr. 300, f. 63r–80r. Nikos Zagklas plans to work on a critical edition of the poem for the project *Commentaria in Aristotelem Graeca et Byzantina*. For the above mentioned passages see respectively f. 70r, 67v and 66r.

14 The verb ἐρυθροποιῶ here has the meaning of illuminating / making bright[34] and again alludes to Porphyry's name.

14 – 15 These verses once more indicate Porphyry's clarity and are inspired by Homer. They allude to the following passage of the *Iliad*, in which the brightness of Diomedes' helm and shield is compared to a shining star, *Iliad* 5.5 – 6: ἀστέρ' ὀπωρινῷ ἐναλίγκιον, ὅς τε μάλιστα/ λαμπρὸν παμφαίνῃσι λελουμένος ὠκεανοῖο ("like the star of harvest-time that shines brightest of all others when he has bathed in the stream of Ocean").[35] Porphyry composed several works related to Homer: the *Homeric Questions,* a philological commentary on the Homeric Epics; *On the Cave of the Nymphs,* an allegorical interpretation of the relevant passage of the Odyssey; *On the Styx*, a philosophical essay preserved only in fragments and the work *On the philosophy of Homer* which has been lost.[36] Interestingly, in his *Homeric questions*, which is also a work preserved in fragmentary state, Porphyry discusses the seventh verse of the fifth book of the *Iliad* (τοῖόν οἱ πῦρ δαῖεν ἀπὸ κρατός τε καὶ ὤμων / Such flame did <Athene> kindle from his head and shoulders[37]), namely the verse directly after the one paraphrased by Servilos, and replies to the question why Diomedes' head and shoulders remained unburnt by the fire on his helm and shield. As a good philologist, Porphyry replied that Homer "is accustomed to use "fire" applied to combatants for a representation intense, fervid effort".[38] It is thereby possible that Porphyry included in his passages on Diomedes a discussion about the sixth verse of the fifth book of the *Iliad* too (Iliad 5.5 – 6), but this did not survive. One could also hypothesize that Servilos had access to some version of Porphyry's *Homeric Questions*.

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34 Cf. *LBG* s.v.
35 Homer. Iliad, Volume I: Books 1 – 12. Translated by A.T. Murray, revised by W.F. Wyatt. *Loeb Classical Library*, 170. Cambridge 1924, 207.
36 For the Porphyrian works on Homer see A. Smith, Porphyrian studies since 1913, in W. Haase / H. Temporini (eds), Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt, II 32.2. Berlin 1987, 744 – 747.
37 For the translation see Murray as footnote 35.
38 See the *Homeric Questions* on the *Iliad* E7 and E7b and their English translation in J.A. MacPhail Jr., Porphyry's Homeric questions on the Iliad. Text, translation, commentary. *Texte und Kommentare*, 36. Berlin 2010, 88 – 89.

4. Porphyry's Reception and Philosophical Aspects of the Poem

The reception of Porphyry in Byzantium still needs to be carefully studied through the commentaries, quotations, marginal scholia, poems, diagrams and the many Byzantine manuscripts preserving Porphyry's writings. Porphyry's *Eisagoge* had a wide readership throughout Byzantium and thus had a significant impact on the Byzantine philosophical thought. Some of the most important Byzantine scholars, such as Photios, Arethas, Michael Psellos, Theodore Prodromos, Ioannes Tzetzes, and Gennadios Scholarios summarized, paraphrased, or wrote scholia on the *Eisagoge*.[39] The other works by Porphyry that are related to Aristotle are preserved only in few manuscripts (e. g. his commentaries on the Categories) or are entirely lost (e. g. his work *Against Aristotle concerning the doctrine that the soul is an entelechy* [40]).

Although Porphyry was a well-known author in Byzantium, there are only few Byzantine poems dedicated to him or to his writings.[41] Approximately

39 See respectively Ἀμφιλόχια 137–147, in B. Laourdas / L.G. Westerink (ed.), Photii patriarchae Constantinopolitani Epistulae et Amphilochia, 5. Leipzig 1986, 140–165; M. Share, Scholia on Porphyry's Isagoge and Aristotle's Categories: Codex Vaticanus Urbinas Graecus 35. *Corpus philosophorum Medii Aevi/Commentaria in Aristotelem Byzantina*, 1. Athens 1994; Σύνοψις τῶν πέντε φωνῶν καὶ τῶν δέκα κατηγοριῶν τῆς φιλοσοφίας, in J. Duffy (ed.), Michaelis Pselli Philosophica minora I. Opuscula logica, physica, allegorica, alia. Leipzig 1992, 190–218; Ξενέδημος ἢ φωναί, in J. A. Cramer (ed.), Anecdota graeca e codd. manuscriptis Bibliothecarum Oxoniensium, 3. Oxonii 1936, 204–215; C. Harder, Johannes Tzetzes' Kommentar zu Porphyrius περὶ πέντε φωνῶν. *BZ* 4 (1895) 315–318; Γεωργίου τοῦ Σχολαρίου Προλεγόμενα εἰς τὴν Λογικὴν καὶ εἰς τὴν Πορφυρίου Εἰσαγωγήν, ἐκ διαφόρων συλλεγέντα βιβλίων, μετὰ ἰδίων ἐπιστασιῶν, in M. Jugie / L. Petit / X. A. Siderides (ed.), Œuvres complètes de Gennade Scholarios, 7. Paris 1936. For Tzetzes' long poem on Porphyry see footnote 33.

40 For the title of this work see the *Suda* π 2098 s.v. Πορφύριος.

41 My investigation of Byzantine poems on Porphyry in the DBBE: http://www.dbbe.ugent.be/ (last consulted on 05. 03. 2018), the Commentaria in Aristotelem Graeca et Byzantina: https://cagb-db.bbaw.de/register/personen.xql?id=cagb:d25f24 (last consulted on 05. 03. 2018) and several digitized manuscripts did not uncover more epigrams than those recorded in Vassis, Initia (as footnote 7 above) 517, 539, 552, 640, 744, 765. Their incipits are respectively: Οἱ νῦν ἀμαθεῖς τῶν ἀλαζόνων νέων, Ὁ Πορφύριος λευκὸν Ἀριστοτέλους, Ὅς σου τέθηπα τὴν φύσιν Σύρος, Σύρε, Πορφύριος λογίοις· 'ἀρύτεσθε, σπένδετε πηγῆς, Πορφύριος (ὃν ἔσχε τουτὶ τὸ σχέδος), Τῇ τῶν λόγων σου κογχύλῃ, Πορφύριε, Τὸ δραστικὸν κλόνου τε καὶ νοῦ δριμύτης. Almost all of these epigrams have been presented in the commentary. A detailed discussion of these poems is out of the scope of the present paper. A systematic research on the many unedited marginal scholia accompanying Porphyry's works in the Byzantine manuscripts may bring more poems into light.

seven Byzantine poems can be found on Porphyry and it is noteworthy that all of them are laudatory.[42] As is the case with the poem by Servilos, Porphyry is praised for his clarity, his words (λόγοι), the sharpness of his mind and his ability to clarify Aristotle. Most of these poems were meant to be book epigrams (with the exception of Tzetzes' commentary) and have been composed by well-known authors, such as Leo the Philosopher, Ioannes Geometres and Ianos Laskaris. Leo's impact on the construction of Porphyry's literary characterization is attested not only in Servilos' poem, but also in the following anonymous Byzantine epigram:[43]

> Πορφύριος (ὃν ἔσχε τουτὶ τὸ σχέδος)
> καταγλαΐζων τῶν σχεδογράφων φρένα
> ἐκ τῆς ἑαυτοῦ κογχύλης, τῆς τῶν λόγων.

> Porphyry, whom this schedos concerns
> adorns the mind of the *schede-writers*
> by his own purple (consisting) of words.[44]

As it has been demonstrated, Servilos' poem shares several common motifs with other book epigrams dedicated to Porphyry, which indicates that Servilos was aware of the literary tradition on Porphyry. It is, however, striking that Porphyry constantly changes substances in the poem, something that is not found in other texts on him; he is portrayed metaphorically as an emperor (v. 1–2), red purple (v. 3), a flower (v. 5), intellect (v. 6) and a flow of words which makes purple all the things that are hidden (v. 12). I think this is related to Porphyry's philosophical views, especially those referring to the ontological relation of beings, which were developed in his ontological interpretation of Aristotle's *Categories*. If the

42 Not all of the Byzantine authors had a positive attitude towards Porphyry; several Church fathers (e. g. Eusebius of Ceasarea, Gregory of Nazianzus) disliked Porphyry due to his anti-Christian polemic, but also Psellos was several times critical to Porphyry and characterized his philosophical views nonsense (ληρώδης λόγος), see indicatively A. Magny, Porphyry in fragments: reception of an anti-Christian text in late antiquity. Farnham / Burlington 2014; and G. Miles, Psellos and his traditions, in S. Mariev (ed.), Byzantine perspectives on Neoplatonism. *BA*, *Series Philosophica*, 1. Berlin 2017, 83–84.

43 This epigram can be found in an old edition containing extracts and notes from several Byzantine manuscripts, see *Notices* et *extraits* des *manuscrits* de la *Bibliothèque nationale* et *autres bibliothèques*, Paris 1810. It is mentioned along with Leo's poem on Porphyry, which functions as a book epigram on Porphyry in the codex Vat. gr. 305. It might derive from the same manuscript too, but I was not able to detect it.

44 Translation is mine.

scale of beings, the so-called *Porphyrian tree* of Logic is used as an interpretative tool for the analysis of the poem, we could suppose that Porphyry himself takes the form of a man (αὐτοκράτωρ, v. 2), a plant (ἄνθος, v. 5), of a rational animated body (νοῦς, v. 6) and of a stream (βρύσις, v. 12).[45]

Servilos uses all these metaphors as means for indicating several important characteristics of Porphyry (e.g. his prominence in philosophers, clarity, his activity as a commentator of Aristotle and his rhetorical abilities) and consequently offers to his reader a broad knowledge of the individual Porphyry. It is remarkable that most of the poems' metaphors refer to Porphyry and have the "red color" as a common feature.[46] "Purple" acquires different meanings in the poem and sheds light on different aspects of the philosopher.[47] This may allude to Porphyry's exegesis of Aristotle's theory on "homonymy", which was developed in his *Categories*. According to Porphyry, "when things share the same name but have entirely different accounts they are called homonyms".[48] It is interesting that at the end of his discussion on "homonymy", Porphyry discusses the "metaphor" as well, claiming that "metaphor occurs when the same term designates different things, even though there is a distinct word to name them".[49] Since the term "purple" applies to different things in the poem and constructs several metaphors, we may think that Servilos not only intended to write an encomiastic poem for Porphyry, but also intended to put into practice some of Porphyry's theories on semantics. Another indication that the poem is related to Porphyry's semantics is Servilos' reference to the "concepts" (v. 3).[50] "Concepts" play a key role in Porphyry's interpretation of the Aristotelian *Categories*, since

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45 The so-called *Porphyrian tree* is a diagram illustrating a scale of beings and it is based on Porphyry's *Eisagoge*. Boethius' Commentaries on Porphyry's *Eisagoge* played a crucial role for the formation and the diffusion of the *Porphyrian tree*, which is mainly transmitted in Latin manuscripts. On the *Porphyrian tree* see A. R. Verboon, The medieval tree of Porphyry: an organic structure of logic, in P. Salonius / A. Worm (eds), The tree: symbol, allegory, and mnemonic device in medieval art and thought. Turnhout 2014, 95–116.

46 Cf. Porphyry's definition of the "common feature" (κοινόν), which is included in his discussion on *Homonymy*, Porph. *On Arist. Cat.* 62, 15–33.

47 The use of *purple* color in the poem recalls the treatment of *white* color as a *universal* and *particular accident* in Porph. *On Arist. Cat.* 72, 19–29.

48 Porphyry, *On Arist. Cat.*, translated by S. K. Strange, Ancient Commentators on Aristotle. London 2014, p. 39.

49 See P. Hadot, The harmony of Plotinus and Aristotle according to Porphyry, in R. Sorabji, Aristotle transformed: The ancient commentators and their influence. New York 1990, p. 137 and Porph. *On Arist. Cat.* 67, 4–9.

50 Cf. the note on νόημα, v. 3.

according to Porphyry, Aristotle's purpose in his *Categories* was to deal with "significant articulate sounds" and "signifying concepts."[51]

Since the poem seems to allude both to the semantic and to the ontological theory of Porphyry, we could suppose that it was intended to accompany his *Commentaries on Aristotle's Categories*, Porphyry's main work related to the Aristotelian logic and the Platonic ontology.[52] The codex Vind. Hist. gr. 98, which contains Malaxos' short descriptions of manuscripts preserved in private libraries of 16th-century Constantinople, supports this hypothesis.[53] Malaxos lists there, among others, three manuscripts of Porphyry's *Commentary on Aristotle's Categories* kept in the collections of Ioannes Soutsos, Michael Kantakouzenos and Rhaedestos.[54] It is likely that Malaxos copied Porphyry's epigram in Vat. Reg. 166 directly from one of these manuscripts. However, it seems that along with the manuscript, the epigram was also lost; to the best of our knowledge, Vat. Reg. 166 remains its unique witness.

5. Epilogue

In conclusion, this is an interesting poem, which is related to Porphyry's biographical and literary tradition, as well as to aspects of his philosophy. It was

51 See Porph. *On Arist. Cat.* 58.5 – 6. Cf. C. Evangeliou, Aristotle's Categories and Porphyry. *Philosophia Antiqua*, 48. Leiden 1988, 165 and Karamanolis, Porphyry (as footnote 17 above) and S. K. Strange, Porphyry: On Aristotle Categories. *Ancient Commentators on Aristotle*. London 2014, 12.

52 For a discussion of Porphyry's dependence on the Platonic ontology see Chiaradonna, Porphyry (as footnote 18 above) 325 – 326, cf. Karamanolis, Porphyry (as footnote 24 above) passim. The epigram could also be used as a book epigram accompanying later commentaries on these works. This is the case with the book epigram on Porphyry preserved in the cod. Plut. 31, 37 (see the commentary, vv. 5 – 10). For a representative manuscript of Porphyry's transmission in Byzantium, see the codex Vat. Reg. gr. 107 (s. XIV), see http://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS_Reg.gr.107 (last consulted on 04.03.2018).

53 For the lists of manuscripts copied by Ioannes Malaxos see Vind. Hist. gr. 98, f. 8v–54v, cf. G.K. Papazoglou, Ιδιωτικές Βιβλιοθήκες στην Κωνσταντινούπολη του ις′ αιώνα (κώδ. Vind. hist. gr. 98). Thessaloniki 1983 and Lauxtermann, "And many, many more" (as footnote 4 above) 271.

54 See Vind. Hist. 98, f. 17v, 28r, 54r; the manuscripts are respectively listed under the following titles (diplomatic transcription): Πορφυρίου εἰς τὰς δέκα κατηγορίας τοῦ ἀριστοτέλους· καὶ τὸ χαρτί ἔνε βιββάκινο, Πορφυρίου εἰς τὰς δέκα κατηγορίας τοῦ ἀριστοτέλους, πορφυρίου εἰς τὰς ἀριστοτέλου κατηγορίας. Cf. Vat. Ottob. gr. 302 (f. 1r), which preserves Porphyry's work under a similar title (Πορφυρίου εἰς τὰς ἀριστοτέλους κατηγορίας) and has been copied by Manuel Malaxos.

probably meant to function as a book epigram to a manuscript transmitting a philosophical anthology with the most common Porphyrian works on the Aristotelian logic (the *Commentaries on Aristotle's Categories*, the *Eisagoge*). The author was an admirer of Porphyry and was well versed in philosophy and poetry (e. g. Homer, composition of *dodecasyllables*). It is likely that he belonged to the intellectual circles of Venice or of the Patriarchate of Constantinople, places which provided the basis for the transmission and circulation of Greek knowledge in the 15th and 16th centuries. The poem offers new insight into Porphyry's reception and can open up intriguing discussions among philologists and philosophers regarding its exact relation to Porphyry's philosophy.

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Scaling the text: the ambiguity of the book in John Climacus

Abstract: The literary sophistication of John Climacus has been the subject of recent scholarly discussion, and forms part of a larger trend that seeks to recover the pivotal importance of *paideia* in early Byzantine monasticism. In dialogue with this ongoing interest in text and book culture, the present article outlines John Climacus' nuanced position on the matter of sacred text. In Climacus' *œuvre* we discover a tension between his reverence for sacred text, which includes the written word's role in bringing about spiritual health, and the need to recognize all text and every book, however holy, as something ultimately dispensable in light of the ascetic ideal. The setting aside of holy texts, however, does not indicate the superfluity of these texts for Climacus so much as the need to transpose them from the dead and external letter of the page to the living and embodied book of the heart.

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Introduction

Early Byzantine monastic attitudes towards books, text, reading, and by extension learning and *paideia*, has long been recognized as an important facet of discussions regarding the broader reception, propagation, neglect, and/or transformation of classical culture in late antiquity and Byzantium. At one end of the chronological and ideological spectrum we have the ever-quotable GIBBON, for whom brutish monks, those "exiles from social life," being "impelled by the dark and implacable genius of superstition," had only disdain for any real culture or learning.[1] GIBBON scoffs at the ancient claim that monastics pursued "divine philosophy," wryly commenting that the monks "surpassed, without the aid of science or reason, the laborious virtues of the Grecian schools."[2] The early

1 E. GIBBON, The history of the decline and fall of the Roman Empire, volume 6. London 1827, 86–87.
2 Ibid., 80.

monks are perceived by Gibbon to be at once slayers of themselves, of society, of education, civilization, and so on. Of course, with the advent of the category of "late antiquity" to counter that of the "Dark Ages" came the more positive, sensitive, even appreciative views of reading culture and learning among the early monks that characterizes many contemporary assessments.[3]

What often calls for clarification, however, is the *kind* of reading material and learning culture that is under discussion. Allusions to monastic libraries and scriptoria (most famously the Pachomian library), the learning evident in the letters of Anthony, the concerns of Isidore of Pelusium with rhetoric, and/or the Evagrian fascination with philosophy, often seem to be made in order to create an impression of a flourishing interest in classical or secular learning among the monastics. To be sure, there was a degree of interest in these areas within monastic circles, but hardly a flourishing one (on this point, the knee-jerk reactions to Gibbon might sometimes go too far). What does flourish is the reading and copying of scripture and the fathers, including liturgy.[4] The production of new texts, most especially in the form of ascetic treatises, is also a key component here. The late antique as well as Byzantine ascetic culture of learning dealt inescapably with these texts as its substrate.

Among the new and most influential and copied texts produced in early Byzantine monasticism is of course John of Sinai's *Ladder*, written in the first decades of the seventh century. Several scholars have realized that to study this text from a literary perspective is to be confronted with the use of unspoken yet impressive levels of rhetorical sophistication, in turn shedding light in turn on monastic cultures of learning that, while being barely discernible on the surface, nevertheless play a deep and active role in monastic formation. Henrik Rydell Johnsén's recent study *Reading John Climacus* stands out as an impressive work in this regard, paying close attention to the complex rhetorical strategies John of Sinai employs in the construction of his famous *Ladder*.[5]

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3 See in particular the collected volume by W. E. Klingshirn / L. Safran (eds.), The early Christian book. Washington DC 2007, as well as H.Y. Gamble, Books and readers in the early church: a history of early Christian texts. New Haven CT 1997. For the broader question of cultural transformation in late antiquity, the bibliography is large, but see for instance J. Pelikan, Christianity and culture: the metamorphosis of natural theology in the Christian encounter with Hellenism. New Haven CT 1995.

4 For more on the textual preferences of the early monks of Egypt, see C. Kotsifou, Books and book production in the monastic communities of Byzantine Egypt, in Klingshirn/Safran, The early Christian book (see footnote 3 above), 48 – 66.

5 H. R. Johnsén, Reading John Climacus: rhetorical argumentation, literary convention and the tradition of monastic formation. Lund 2007.

In proposing plausible and convincing arguments for Climacus' literary skill, Johnsén extends his argument to make the case that monastic culture and *paideia* was always, from the beginning, inescapably literary and "textual." On the face of it, this is an uncontroversial point: if texts are involved in monastic culture from the beginning (which is true) then surely that culture is textual. Yet the argument is stronger than this. Not only are texts important to monastic culture, they in a sense *are* that culture. Johnsén thus resists the widespread assumption that monasticism developed its traditions from oral beginnings.[6] A consequence of this for his understanding of monastic culture can be seen in his assessment of the pedagogical value of the various steps of John's *Ladder* ("on obedience," "on purity," and so on). They are no longer steps "about" monastic therapy for the soul, but the text of the steps is, he says, "*the very therapy*" itself.[7] In other words, Johnsén wishes to use his analysis of John of Sinai's literary abilities to propose a broader collapse of text and meaning in early Byzantine monastic culture. There is no *hors-texte* in his conception; the medium is the message.[8]

It is Johnsén's broader claims about John Climacus and early Byzantine monasticism that serve as the backdrop and impetus for this article. While his argument depends on a close and detailed literary analysis of the text of the *Ladder*, little positive attention is given to Climacus' own statements that occasionally help but ultimately, I argue, hinder Johnsén's claims. The statements explored revolve around the thoughtful ambiguity shown by Climacus for the written word and/or the book. What is meant here is not the more obvious ambiguity between Christian texts and non-Christian ones, or between the "wisdom of God" and the "wisdom of this world" in the Pauline sense. Nor is this an ambiguity about learning if understood as training in rhetoric, a skill in which John Climacus (or John "the Scholastic") appears adept. What is rather meant is an ambiguity regarding holy texts themselves. Having briefly discussed John's own rhetorical and literary skill, attention is turned to his positive assessments of the written text or book and its integral role in the ascetic life. Following this, a more puzzling point is addressed, one that Climacus makes several times in the *Ladder* and *To the Shepherd*, which betrays an ascetic ideal that dispenses with books and with text, however holy and correct these may in principle be. Regard-

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6 Ibid., 3.

7 Ibid., 279 (his italics).

8 The notion of the intrinsic power of the holy text as text is explored to great effect in: C. Rapp, Holy texts, holy men, and holy cribes, in Klingshirn/Safran, The early Christian book (see footnote 3 above), 194–222. She shows, for instance, that the reading of a hagiographic text in late antiquity might be characterized best as "a physical process equal to a pilgrimage in intention and effect" (222).

less of what is made of this notion, it at least shows that Climacus himself did not conceive his textual steps in the Ladder as "the very therapy" itself for monastic life; he was quite insistent, in fact, that while monasticism seemed inescapably textual, it pointed beyond the written word. In an idealized setting the monk had the ineffable words of divine knowledge inscribed directly on the tablet of his heart, divested of the mediation of parchment and ink. But in the final section, it is also argued that even here we are left by Climacus with a tablet and a text, an internalized and indeed supremely *embodied* sense of the holy book. And we are left too with his *Ladder*, a textual testimony to his firm belief in the *hors-texte*.

The Literary Qualities of the Ladder

It is not my intention to perform a thorough literary analysis of John of Sinai's *oeuvre*. This has been done with great clarity and insight by Johnsén, and before him by COUILLEAU, BOGDANOVIĆ, and DUFFY.[9] What deserves to be highlighted from JOHNSÉN's work is the proposal that rather than being a literary collection of observations regarding ascetic life, John's *Ladder* is a meticulously crafted literary whole. As JOHNSÉN argues, Climacus lives up to his occasional designation as John the Scholastic (*σχολαστικός*), though one cannot push this connection too far given that in this period and later the title *σχολαστικός* tends to indicate an "advocate" or a "lawyer".[10]

9 See G. COUILLEAU, Jean Climaque (saint). *Dictionnaire de Spiritualité* 8 (1964) 369 – 389; D. BOGDANOVIĆ, Jovan Lestvičnik u vizantijskoj i staroj srpskoj književnosti. Belgrade 1968 (with French summary), and J. DUFFY, Embellishing the steps: elements of presentation and style in *The Heavenly Ladder* of John Climacus. *DOP* 53 (1999) 1 – 17. Still valuable for the overall study of Climacus is W. VÖLKER, Scala Paradisi: Eine Studie zu Johannes Climacus und zugleich eine Vorstudie zu Symeon dem Neuen Theologen. Wiesbaden 1968.
10 I am grateful to an anonymous reviewer for pointing out this latter point. Incidentally, I will not enter here into the debates surrounding Climacus' exact dates and biography. Some of these are helpfully summarized in J. CHRYSSAVGIS, John Climacus: from the Egyptian desert to the Sinaite mountain. Aldershot 2004, 15 – 20 and 42 – 44, but see also A. MÜLLER, Das Konzept des geistlichen Gehorsams bei Johannes Sinaites. Tübingen 2006, 33 – 56, and the discussion in O. SFERLEA, La dynamique de la vie spirituelle chez saint Jean Climaque: un bref regard comparative avec saint Grégoire de Nysse. *BZ* 110 (2017) 149 – 168, especially 153 – 154. That John most likely wrote his *Ladder* in the first half of the seventh century as abbot of Sinai is sufficient for our purposes.

The deeply thought-out nature of the *Ladder* (and, as Duffy points out, of its accompanying documents[11]), as well as its mode of argumentation points to Climacus' significant literary training and skill. The literary form of the thirty-stepped *Ladder*, according to Johnsén, is that of an ancient moral treatise. Climacus' mode of argumentation within each discourse, moreover, generally follows the conventional four-fold pattern of a speech (*prooimion, prosthesis, pistis, epilogos*) and sometimes the eight-fold pattern of an *ergasia* common to late ancient handbooks of rhetorical theory. Ultimately, JOHNSÉN finds striking evidence for a common sophisticated literary convention and literary practice among both classically trained rhetoricians and John of Sinai, though even he admits that his claims do not always fully hold up in the case every Step.[12] What his sophistication says about his background or about monastic education is open to interpretation. Nevertheless, the significance here lies in recognizing the literary sophistication at work in one of the most popular theological texts of Byzantium. It is a sophistication, moreover, that extends to John's creative use and rearrangement of sources, especially with regard to Evagrian ascetic theory as well as the systematic collection of the apophthegmata.[13]

The Good Book

It is helpful to bear in mind Climacus' own literary skill as we turn to the question of the role of books in his thought. Given his obvious training, he was by no means a natural enemy to the book. On that note, it is important to speak first of his appreciation for books and what they could offer. If the *Vita* by Daniel of Raithou is to be believed (though Andreas MÜLLER demonstrates the difficulties involved in dating this text[14]), John was given to writing or copying small books (*δέλτια κατέταττε*) in his solitude as a means of fighting despondency (*ἀκηδία*).[15] The text of the *Ladder* is unsurprisingly described by the *Vita* in terms of a new

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11 DUFFY, Embellishing the steps (see note 9 above) 2 – 3.
12 JOHNSÉN, Reading John Climacus (see note 5 above) 89.
13 All discussed in detail by JOHNSÉN, Reading John Climacus (see note 5 above).
14 A. MÜLLER, Die Vita Johannes des Sinaites von Daniel von Raithu: ein Beitrag zur Byzantinischen Hagiographie. *BZ* 95 (2002) 585 – 601.
15 Daniel of Raithou, *Life of Abba John* (PG 88, 601A). Translations are my own. For the convenience of readers, however, paragraph references within individual steps of the *Ladder* are keyed to that of the English translation by the Holy Transfiguration Monastery (Boston MA 1991). This is also in keeping with the practice of JOHNSÉN, Reading John Climacus (see note 5 above).

divine revelation from Sinai effected through the hand of John (a new Moses) and "his God-written tablets (*θεόγραφοι πλάκες*)", tablets that contain instructions for both the outer/practical and inner/contemplative sides of monastic life.[16] He was evidently known as a writer of renown in his day since in John of Raithou's letter to Climacus expressly asking for a book (*δέλτος*), we encounter the same tropes about John as a new Moses who can impart "God-written tablets" to the new Israel.[17]

It is clear, then, that Climacus was known and remembered as a proponent of the importance of text in underpinning and guiding monastic life and ascetic practice. In the *Ladder* itself, Climacus betrays his possession of or access to, and certainly dependence on, some form of library when he comments that he has not found an answer to a difficult question in any of the books (*δέλτοι*) that have reached him.[18] It goes without saying that he has a deep attachment to Scripture as well as the words of the fathers (which, as JOHNSÉN points out, he often understands as textual, using terms like *ὅροι* and *κανόνες* to refer to their words).[19]

Interestingly, there is a further positive role for the book in Climacus, specifically the small folding tablet or book (*πτύχιον*) worn on the belts of a number of monks in a monastery he stayed at near Alexandria (his memories of which make up much of *Step* 4 on obedience).[20] This reference is significant but has not, to my knowledge, received much attention. Here Climacus is describing a scenario in which the presence of the book in the life of the monastic is not limited to his cell, the library, the church services, or the refectory readings: the book is now physically attached to the monk at all times. This helps Johnsén's argument that in some sense Climacus conceives of a permanently textual component to monastic life. It is also intriguing that this "technological" addition to the monastic lifestyle is so readily accepted and commended by Climacus: no suspicions regarding the potential spiritual dangers of physically attaching a kind of "mobile device" to one's person are aroused, this in a world, let us recall,

16 Daniel of Raithou, *Life of Abba John* (PG 88, 605B).
17 See John of Raithou, *Letter to Abba John* (PG 88, 624B). Mosaic allusions are inescapable in all these texts given John's location at Sinai, something discussed in more detail in DUFFY, Embellishing the Steps (see note 9 above).
18 *Ladder of Divine Ascent* 26, 39 (PG 88, 1021C). The question has to do with the order and consequences of the eight deadly thoughts. The answer, notably, comes directly and orally from the fathers asking the difficult question (i.e. the need for books is subtly bypassed).
19 JOHNSÉN, Reading John Climacus (see note 5 above) 282.
20 See *Ladder of Divine Ascent* 4, 39 (PG 88, 701CD).

where divestiture of all worldly possessions is considered normative for the monastic estate.

What are these small books and their purpose? Immediately one thinks of the medieval Western "girdle books" often depicted in clergy and nobleman portraits of the fifteenth century. The leather covers of such books were generally extended in order to serve as a pouch or container for the book that could then be hooked onto the belt. Their utility for clergy was obvious, since they allowed for liturgical texts to always and readily be available, and on a practical level allowed the celebrant to raise his hands in prayer without "dropping" the book or needing to find a surface on which to place it. Other kinds of girdle or portable books ("vade mecums") were popular, however, especially almanacs, whose portability (it has been argued) served a role in the medieval dissemination of medical knowledge.[21] But the books Climacus mentions are not of this sort. They are most probably a small folding book of two blank wax tablets upon which text could be etched. He describes them in the following passage: "noticing that he [viz. the monk in charge of the refectory] had a small book (*πτύχιον*) hanging from his belt, I learned that each day he would note down his thoughts and report them all to the shepherd [i.e. the abbot]. I observed that not only he, but many others did the same thing: I even heard that this was by command of the great one [i.e. the abbot]."[22]

We are told that these mobile "notebooks" were a confessional aid on which the monks would write their thoughts and later show them to the monastery's abbot. Climacus clearly commends (though does not himself prescribe) the practice. Widespread monastic literacy seems to be assumed by Climacus, though it is hard to make any firm judgments on the matter from this reference alone. What is fascinating is that the book here becomes a new kind of weapon in the ascetic arsenal: not simply serving as the medium or repository for sacred Scripture, liturgy, or the fathers, but an active technological tool for a monk's personal spiritual progress. Moreover, we are presented not just with the usual vocalization of thoughts (*λογισμοί*) in confession to a monastic elder, but their textualization too. This of course can already be seen in the corpus of letters to spiritual directors (the Barsanuphius and John collection of the sixth century being perhaps

21 For more on the medieval Western "girdle book", see M. Smith, The medieval girdle book. New Castle, DE 2017; and H.M. Carey, Astrological medicine and the medieval English folded almanac. *Social History of Medicine* 17 (2004) 345 – 363.
22 *Ladder of Divine Ascent* 4, 39 (PG 88, 701CD).

the most prominent[23]), but there is also a difference. In the case of the monastery near Alexandria, the writing down of one's thoughts was not being done out of necessity, since the abbot was physically accessible, but as a gratuitous supplement in the ascetic struggle. In this episode, in other words, it is possible to detect an unusual and impressive ratification of the connection between "writing and holiness" in early Byzantine Christianity perceived and discussed at some length by KRUEGER.[24]

Climacus' interest in the writing and subsequent blotting out of sin, moreover, does not stop here. In the same step of the *Ladder*, he relates the tale of a thief who wished to enter the monastery near Alexandria and who was told by the abbot to publicly confess all his sins in the middle of the church in the presence of all the brethren before he could be admitted to the monastic rank. Climacus is somewhat taken aback by this sequence of events, but marvels at its efficacy. One of the monks there tells him, when they discuss the incident, that at the time he saw "someone fearful with parchment and a reed pen (*χάρτης γεγραμμένος καὶ κάλαμος*)" who would strike out each sin as it was being confessed.[25] Later in the *Ladder*, in *Step* 23 on pride and blasphemous thoughts, the same theme returns with the description of a monk who struggled for twenty years with great asceticism, but without success, to rid himself of the temptation of blasphemous thoughts. His eventual solution is to set the problem down in writing on a piece of papyrus and present it, bowed with his face to the earth, to a certain holy man. The elder reads it and even smiles (*ἐμειδίασε*) before telling the monk to place his hand on his neck (a common trope in early monastic sources symbolizing the taking on of someone's burden), and declaring that this sin will be on his own neck. Before the monk even returns to his cell, he is completely freed from this inner turmoil.[26] In both cases, the physical writing out of one's sin is seen as a constitutive part of the process of spiritual therapy. At the same time, it should be remembered that the goal in these circumstances is not of course the text itself, but the text's *erasure*. Nonetheless, the fact that this theme figures so frequently in a positive light deserves to be underscored.

We have seen, then, that notions of the book and of text are integral to Climacus' conception of the monastic life in ways that go beyond mere affirmation

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23 On Barsanuphius and John, see for instance J. L. HEVELONE-HARPER, Disciples of the desert: monks, laity, and spiritual authority in sixth-century Gaza. Baltimore MD 2014; and B. BITTON-ASHKELONY / A. KOFSKY, The monastic school of Gaza. Leiden 2006.

24 See D. KRUEGER, Writing and holiness: the practice of authorship in the early Christian east. Philadelphia, PA 2011.

25 *Ladder of Divine Ascent* 4, 12 (PG 88, 684C).

26 This incident is related in *Ladder of Divine Ascent* 23, 52 (PG 88, 980AB).

of the importance of Scripture and the writings of the fathers. The way of sanctity is understood as having a strong "textual" outlet, which ties in well with the close literary study of the text of the *Ladder* conducted by Johnsén. And yet, while Climacus can give us glimpses into a world of monastic formation that gives great value to books and texts, he can also modify and even undermine their role in his broader conceptual framing of the drive for Christian perfection.

The Book as Stumbling Block

It is clear that the book and text have a pivotal place in ascetic culture for Climacus, but his various reflections on the matter do not yield straightforwardly positive results. In particular, a concern that recurs in his corpus is that the ascetic move beyond the world of the written text. In this section four instances are looked at where this point is made: in Step 5 (on repentance), Step 25 (on humility), Step 27 (on *hesychia*) and in the opening section of *To the Shepherd*.

At the end of Step 5, summing up his detailed description of the monastic "prison" that was attached to the monastery near Alexandria he visited, and the repentant way of life of those there, Climacus says the following:

> May the holy prisoners mentioned previously be to you a rule, a type, a model, and an image of repentance, and you will have no need of a book at all throughout your life (*οὐ μὴ δεηθήσῃ βιβλίου ὅλως ἐν τῇ ζωῇ σου πάσῃ*), until such time as Christ the Son of God and God makes you to shine in the resurrection of careful repentance.[27]

Here Climacus claims in a striking manner that examples of holiness and repentance can serve to supplant the need for any books whatsoever.[28] Not only does Climacus posit this possibility, but earnestly hopes his readers attain it. One can call to mind here John Chrysostom's comparable point at the opening of his homilies on Matthew, in which Scripture itself is described as a condescension towards human weakness; ideally we would "lead such a pure life, that the grace of the Spirit would replace books for our souls."[29] The difference in Climacus is that rather than unmediated grace taking the place of books, the exemplar of holy repentance serves as substitute.

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27 Ibid. 5, 42 (PG 88, 780D–781 A).
28 Interestingly, this is the only instance in which the word *βιβλίον* is used for "book" in the *Ladder* itself; the author more commonly uses *δέλτος*.
29 John Chrysostom, *Homilies on Matthew* 1, 1 (PG 57, 13). Chrysostom goes on to develop this point at some length.

With this example in isolation we might be tempted to see in Climacus a tendency to jettison the whole idea of sacred text in favor of the living image of the holy man. But, as we shall see in the following section, sacred text still has an integral role in his ideal, albeit a transformed one. Continuing with the theme of the book as stumbling block, we find a stronger statement in Step 25 on humility:

> Humility is a nameless grace of the soul, nameable only to those who have gained experience of her, an ineffable wealth, a name of God and abundance. For it is said "Learn, not from an angel, nor from a man, neither from a book (*οὐκ ἀπὸ δέλτου*), but from me, namely, from my own indwelling, illumination, and activity within you, for I am meek and lowly in heart, in thought, in mind, and you shall find for your souls rest from struggles and relief from thoughts."[30]

In this passage we have the more unmediated ideal mentioned by Chrysostom, this time in terms of Christ directly teaching and illuminating the believer from within through humility. His view here poses a tacit challenge to the idea of the mediation of holiness through an elder cherished throughout the *Ladder* and *To the Shepherd*, but this cannot be dealt with in detail here.[31] What is interesting for our purposes is the mention of books together with angels and men. Viewed alone, none of these are an inherently ultimate authority for Climacus. They each give way to the direct action of the humble Christ in the heart, and the book is no exception.

This idea of the relative value even of holy text is strengthened again in Step 27 on *hesychia* or stillness. On the subject of spiritual reading, Climacus first notes its benefits, which include its capacity to enlighten and concentrate the mind, bringing it into harmony with the Spirit contained in the words. But he then continues:

> Let the practical things that you read make you a worker, for working at these makes further reading superfluous. Seek to be enlightened by labors rather than by books (*μὴ δέλτοις*) with these healthy words. Do not attend to treatises of obscure meaning before

30 *Ladder of Divine Ascent* 25, 3 (PG 88, 989 A).

31 While it is easy to find a contradiction between "not learning from men" and the position espoused elsewhere that the authority of the elder is ultimate (to the point that, e.g. "there is more advantage in sinning against God than against our father" – *Ladder of Divine Ascent* 4, 121 [PG 88, 728 A]), the apparent contradiction is perhaps surmountable when we consider that the elder mediates Christ, not himself, in Climacus' thought. For more on this tension, see A. Torrance, "I must decrease": Spiritual direction and power in the Orthodox tradition, in F.K. Soumakis (ed.), Power and authority in eastern Christian experience. Broadway, NY 2011, 61–69.

> [receiving] spiritual power: being dark words (*σκότους ὄντα ῥήματα*), they darken the feeble.[32]

In the realm of reading, Climacus does not posit a straightforward gradual progression of the ascetic from simpler, practical texts to more mystical or contemplative ones. In a certain respect he even cuts short this notion by suggesting a basic terminus for spiritual reading in the careful application of the practical advice (*τὰ πρακτικά*) found in sacred text to one's life (making continued reading unnecessary). Beyond this, there is the supposition that with the help of spiritual power, more obscure or allegorical works might be profitably consulted, but Climacus' accent falls firmly on the potential perils associated with the unseasonable pursuit of such reading.[33] His interesting use of medicinal language to describe the first kind of text as "healthy" (*ὑγίεια*) further implies that obscure sacred texts are by contrast hazardous to one's health, an idea reinforced by the allusion to their content as "dark" and "darkening" (with the connotation, perhaps, of having a "dizzying" and/or "blinding" effect). Climacus by no means originates the idea of treating obscure sacred texts with caution, but the fact that he does so in the midst of a claim regarding the ultimate dispensability of the holy text is notable. The ascetic can avoid investigating more difficult spiritual texts not only because he is too immature or inexperienced to handle the task, but because the task itself is considered unnecessary.

The last example to be discussed from Climacus of this tendency to negate sacred text comes at the beginning of *To the Shepherd*. Here Climacus discusses in detail the requisite qualities of a good and effective spiritual father. Some of the same sentiments already seen at work above are repeated in its first chapter. In particular, he says the following:

> A true teacher is one who has obtained from God the noetic book of divine knowledge inscribed by him, that is the activity of illumination, and has no need for other books (*τῶν λοιπῶν βίβλων ἀνενδεὴς γενόμενος*). It is unfitting for teachers to teach from copied texts (*ἀντίγραφα*).[34]

Observable once again is Climacus' hesitation over holy books and sacred text: with the advent of inner illumination, books lose their value. What is most strik-

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32 *Ladder of Divine Ascent* 27, 78 (PG 88, 1116CD).
33 One is reminded of a similar reticence for esoteric ascetic writings in the letters of Barsanuphius and John of Gaza in the previous century: see especially *Letters* 600 – 607 (SC 451, 804 – 42).
34 *To the Shepherd* 1 (PG 88, 1165BC).

ing about his statement here is the negative reference to teaching from textual copies. His exalted understanding of what spiritual pastorship represents leads Climacus to conclude that a true spiritual guide would not even need the external texts of others to help him (and neither, he assumes, should any teacher who is worth their salt). Nevertheless, what we can also glean from this text is an abiding positive interest for Climacus in the language and ideas of books and text even as he is undermining them. This brings us to our third and final section, on the idealized *embodiment* of book and text in Climacus' thought.

The Embodied Book

If the external book and text ought to be understood as expendable (even as a potential obstacle) for the ascetic life portrayed by Climacus, the notions of the internalized book and text nonetheless receive frequent attention. The last citation above from *To the Shepherd* is not strictly advocating the dissolution of books, but the replacement of one kind of book with another, the internal for the external. To be spiritually mature and capable of leading others, one must at once surpass all holy books but also as it were *be* the holy book. The genuine spiritual teacher no longer draws on an external, detached repository of sacred text, but has himself for Climacus *become* that respository through a process of internalization, one which includes, of course, the struggle of the ascetic life, but ultimately involves the gift of the inner book or tablet of divine knowledge.

It might be tempting to frame this in terms of the "physical" book versus the "spiritual" book, and Climacus' language generally lends itself well to this. But if by "spiritual" we mean "disembodied" then such language becomes misleading and does not properly reflect the complexity of Climacus' position. The ideal book is indeed subject to what could be termed a process of "spiritualization," as we shall see in more detail, whereby it is no longer understood to be an external physical object, but a sense of its physicality or materiality nonetheless remains via the enduring theme of the ascetic's *body* and *heart* as true book and tablet.

Earlier, Climacus' concern in Step 25 to emphasize learning humility directly from Christ without the mediation of books was highlighted. In the same Step, however, he provides further nuance to this notion, in which the idea of sacred text is not entirely abandoned in his spiritualized vision of apprenticeship to Christ's humility. He writes:

> Our subject [i.e. humility] sets before us a treasure preserved in earthen vessels, namely in our bodies (*σώμασι*), being a surety, having a quality that defies all description. It has an incomprehensible inscription which comes only from above and those who seek to explain it with words face much and endless difficulty. And the inscription reads thus: holy humility.[35]

In other words, even in the process of spiritualizing the ascetic ideal of likeness to Christ's humility, a sense of sacred text is not abandoned. It has been transformed, however, into an inscription directly upon the fleshly body of the believer (which echoes, of course, the biblical sentiment of the law being inscribed on the heart in Jer 31:33 and Heb 8:10/10:16). It would be wrong to see this as a mere spiritualization of text, given its explicit placement in the flesh: it is a deeply *bodily* text for Climacus. And it is this text inscribed on the tablet or book of the heart that serves as the ascetic goal. If other texts, even the most spiritual, cause the ascetic to stumble on this journey, they are to be set aside. Hence the warning in Step 27 regarding the avoidance of obscure and thus "dark" ascetic treatises. The pure text, for Climacus, cannot be the "therapy" taken in itself precisely because as pure text it is in a sense *too abstract*, and is in need of a material, fleshly home in the person of the ascetic. The true spiritualization of sacred text is, properly speaking, its further embodiment within and through the human person, which includes the material body and especially, of course, the human heart.

The opening step of the *Ladder* conveys this sentiment regarding the true nature of sacred text. Climacus describes how his monastic addressees have compelled him to obediently stretch out his "unworthy hand" in order to write his treatise. He then summarizes how he conceptualizes his process and intention in writing the *Ladder:*

> Let us say what follows having taken the reed pen for this treatise from their knowledge, and dipping it in the dark yet resplendent [ink] of humility, let us depict the divine words [...] upon their smooth white hearts as upon a parchment, or rather rest them upon spiritual tablets.[36]

Climacus also likens the divine words of the treatise here to "seeds" to be planted in the heart. From the beginning of the text, then, Climacus understands his purpose as author in terms not of simply producing an external manual of ascetic life, but more of inscribing sacred words into pure hearts, furnishing

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35 *Ladder of Divine Ascent* 25,2 (PG 88,988BC).
36 Ibid. 1,2 (PG 88,632C–633 A).

the willing reader with the rudiments of a living book. Without the text's successful appropriation and "translation" into the internal life of its audience (or we might say without its lived performance), Climacus would understand it as having fallen short in its purpose. That is to say that a sacred text which remains simply external text is, in a certain sense, a failed text. Certainly, the "failure" involved must be understood to originate from the detached or inattentive reader rather than from the words themselves, but the fact remains that for Climacus, the efficacy and even legitimacy of a sacred book lies in its content being transposed from parchment to heart. To borrow a comparable image from Ezekiel 3:3, the scroll must be eaten rather than simply read for its sweetness to be known.

Conclusion

At the outset, an attempt was made to distinguish some of the questions surrounding reading culture in early Byzantine monasticism. Much work has been done that shows the problems with positing a model in which this reading culture was anti-intellectual by default. Not least in the case of Climacus, the work of Johnsén in unearthing and describing the intricate classical and late antique rhetorical forms and techniques employed by John "the Scholastic" is valuable in this regard. But there is also another question at work in this discussion which has been addressed more directly here, and that is Climacus' own implicit and explicit reflections on the nature of sacred books, text, and their meaning. It has been argued that these reflections are rich, multi-faceted, and repay close study. Sacred text is, as we have seen, crucial to Climacus' ascetic vision. Its role is heightened by the setting of Sinai and the repeated appeal to the tropes and images tied up with the Mosaic tablets of the law. The book as physical object is clearly celebrated, down to the confession notebooks affixed to some monastic belts, but its ambiguity as a potential stumbling block, even in the case of holy text, is likewise repeatedly emphasized. For Climacus, the true value of sacred text is firmly tied to the level of its internalization or embodiment, its ineffable transcription from parchment to heart. If sacred text is not approached in this manner for Climacus, with a view, that is, to the ultimate divestiture of external sacred text as the finger of God makes of the heart a living book, then the purpose and role of the written word is thwarted. Moreover, without the *hors-texte*, an authority outside and above the text (whether the image of the holy convicts, the power of Christ's humility, or the spiritual pastor), as well as the presence of an active ascetic deployment of the text, this all-important transcription cannot occur. And yet the learning of this art is, undeniably, still textual, and in the case of the *Ladder* the intricacies of this art are delivered

with rare rhetorical and literary ingenuity. “I have offered in ink alone mere shadows of living words,”[37] Climacus says to John of Raithou. The ink and the parchment may not be the goal, and are even set aside according to John’s ascetic ideal, but the book, the embodied book, never leaves.

37 *Letter to John of Raithou* (PG 88, 628 A).

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II. ABTEILUNG

Shay Eshel, The concept of the elect nation in Byzantium. Leiden / Boston, Brill 2018. *The Medieval Mediterranean*, 113. VIII, 224 p. ISBN 978-90-04-34947-6.

In the past, when ancient and medieval historians consulted theoretical studies of nationalism, the nation, and nation-states, they inevitably encountered the modernist theory according to which nations and nationalism are the products exclusively of modernization, are made possible solely by modern developments such as industrialization, and thus could not have existed in premodern times. For a while, this was established doctrine, but its evidentiary basis was tenuous, if not nonexistent. The modernist theory has been retreating steadily for decades, and is now in shambles. Premodern people have been discovered to fulfill period-blind definitions of the nation, some premodern states look more like nation-states than any alternative model, and some of their literature and governing ideologies were nationalistic. Byzantium was one such, being the nation-state of the Roman people. That it has rarely been discussed that way in the scholarship, despite the abundant primary evidence that could support such a reading, is due largely to the influence of two ideologies, namely the insistence that the Byzantines were not Romans as they claimed but something else (which is rarely specified), and the "ecumenical" Christian reading of the culture, which want to see Byzantium as "universal" and "multiethnic."

Some historians have accepted Byzantine claims and treated them instead as a Roman nation (for example, Steven Runciman and the present reviewer), and the term "national" is often used to describe their state, economy, armies, and Church by scholars who otherwise shy away from the full implications of that language. Eshel does not shy away from these implications. His book, a revised dissertation, focuses on a specific resource that the Byzantines had for expressing their collective identity in precisely such national terms, namely the Old Testament idea of the Elect Nation (sometimes known as the Chosen People). Like many other Christian nations throughout history, the Byzantines deployed it symbolically to express their national identity and respond to the vicissitudes of history (in general, see A. Smith, Chosen peoples: sacred sources of national identity. Oxford 2003).

As books in our field are more often cited than read, it is important to state clearly that the Elect Nation in this book is specifically the Roman nation, and not all Christians. Early Christians did sometimes represent the entire Church (in all its regional and cultural diversity) as an Elect Nation and the New Israel,

but, according to this study, this was not the usual sense given to this concept between the seventh and the thirteenth centuries (the period of its focus). In Byzantium, the Elect Nation were the Romans, often to the exclusion of other Christians, and some texts that say "Christians" can only be referring to "Christian Romans" (e. g., 45). This book offers little comfort to ecumenical readings (e. g., 112–113).

After an introduction with basic definitions (serving as Chapter One), the book contains six more chapters, each of which studies the uses and modulations of the idea of the Elect Nation in Byzantium in a particular period, with the whole following a chronological order. Chapter Two looks at the concept as a response to the defeats of the seventh century; Chapter Three at its institutional adoption by emperors between Herakleios and Leon III; Chapter Four on how it was used to describe Roman-barbarian encounters between the late seventh and the ninth centuries (which were usually defensive on the Roman side); Chapter Five looks at the appearances of the concept in the controversy over icons, and in particular at the Old Testament models used by some of the iconoclast emperors; Chapter Six, which is quite long, at its use under the Macedonian dynasty, and in particular on the role that it played in the empire's expansion along many fronts (against Jews, Muslims, and other Christian peoples). This chapter also contains a long section on what can only be called nationalist discourse in Byzantium (99 – 115). Chapter Seven compares the different uses of the concept by the Franks and the Byzantines in the era of the Crusades, when there may have been mutual influences between the two sides, though neither was inclined to acknowledge this fact openly. Eshel rightly dispenses with the idea of a Hellenic ethnogenesis in the thirteenth century, finding that, in the ruin of exile, the Byzantines expressed a traditional rhetoric of Roman nationalism. Chapter Eight summarizes the findings of the book and offers five pages of general conclusions, which are worth reading (198 – 202).

Each chapter offers close readings of a variety of texts that pertains to its theme, drawn from different genres, including sermons, acts of Church Councils, legal texts, hagiography, and historiography. They cannot all be listed here. The book manages to cover extensive ground and a diversity of perspectives despite its brevity. It is essentially an intellectual history of an idea and its variations in different genres, historical circumstances, and at the hands of different agents. To this end, Eshel uses sources from many different genres and contexts, for which he deserves praise, as young scholars are increasingly restricting their research to one type of source-material or period, defensively disavowing general theses. The book does not by itself prove that the Byzantines were a Roman nation, which is a larger thesis requiring more studies from different angles, but it does demonstrate that they talked about themselves that way through the con-

cept of the Elect Nation and its ancillary components (support or punishment by God, etc.). It is, for all that, a major step forward. It has an original thesis (which is, moreover, correct), surveys a coherent body of material for the first time within its proper analytical rubric, and ambitiously spans many centuries. So praise is merited for all this too.

Methodologically, the argument of the book carefully avoids two potential pitfalls. First, it does not posit the presence of the Elect Nation concept simply wherever there is a density of allusions to the Old Testament (e.g., 86–89 about Basileios I). Those do help the argument, but the conclusion is more specifically premised on the use of Biblical nationalist language. Second, Eshel unpacks the specific referents of that language to show that it was being used, in each instance, to refer to the emperors' Roman subjects and not to Christians generally. The one place where I was left with doubts was the comparison in Chapter Two between Antiochos Strategios (on the capture of Jerusalem by the Persians), who seems to have had all Chalcedonian Christians in mind, and Theodoros Synkellos (on the siege of Constantinople in 626), who had the Romans of Constantinople in mind. The readings offered by Eshel are plausible enough, but I am not sure that these two texts can represent a transition during the seventh century from a broader to a narrower conception of the Elect Nation. These are works in different genres and talk about different local populations and different enemies, so they are naturally configured in different ways. These two strategies of representation could arise concurrently in any era (Roman nationalists texts exist before the seventh century, and Byzantines could write for a pan-Orthodox audience after it). The exact nature, even the existence, of a seventh-century transitions remains to be explored.

Some quibbles can be made about minor points, which do not affect the substance of the argument. I am not sure that the Romans of Byzantium regarded Greek as a "sacred language" (11, 21–22, 201), certainly not in any way like how Arabic is regarded by Muslims or Hebrew by Jews. They regarded it as superior, but probably not as sacred. At any rate, proof for that assertion is not provided here. Constantinople is routinely called "cosmopolitan" in the scholarship, as it is here too (17), but I have never seen the proof for this. If by cosmopolitan we mean – as seems to be intended – that its population was multiethnic in a significant way or that it welcomed foreigners, I would dispute that characterization. The chronicle of Theophanes the Confessor is not the first extant history after the *Paschal Chronicle* (39): Theophylaktos Simokattes (probably) and Nikephoros can be placed between them. It is an error often made by scholars that the emperors did not add the qualifier "of the Romans" to their title until after Charlemagne (6 n. 19). In fact, they had done so since at least the seventh century (C. Zuckerman, 'On the Titles and Office of the Byzantine ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ,' *TM*

16 [2010] 882), to say nothing of the widespread use of the full title ("*basileus* of the Romans") in Greek literature since early imperial times. καταπροδίδωμι means to betray or abandon, not to "hand down" (131). The discussion of the Frankish version of the Elect Nation (140 ff.) omits its parallel Trojan dimension. I mention this because some crusaders saw themselves as Trojans (i. e., Romans) striking back at their ancestral enemies, the "Greeks." Finally, I am not sure what Eshel means when he says that, in late Byzantium, the population identified classical learning with the Unionist policies of the Palaiologan emperors, and thereby was alienated from its Byzantine-Orthodox national identity (6). But the book is not about this period, so there is no point in pressing the issue.

Eshel correctly (and refreshingly) tries to understand Byzantine identity-claims by working through – and not against – what the sources say. He allows these Romans to tell us what kind of a community they thought they were. This is rare in Byzantine Studies, a field that habitually equivocates, quibbles, evades, and dissimulates whenever the Byzantines talk about being Romans, especially when these Romans represent themselves as a national community. Eshel does not enter the debate about premodern nations. He alludes only peripherally to the different ways in which historians have classified Byzantium, and so we do not get a full theoretical discussion of where his thesis stands within the different strands of scholarship. What Eshel does is ably trace how these Christian Romans deployed the national and even nationalist language of the Old Testament in simultaneously religious and political ways. This has an interesting corollary that bears reflection. Many scholars have claimed that Roman traditions of republican government withered in Byzantium because of Christianity and its (allegedly) theocratic approach to subject-ruler relations. The present book effectively supports the opposite case, namely that the centrality to the Byzantine political sphere of the *populus Romanus* was reinforced, not diminished, by the Elect Nation concept, as it made rulers answerable for their stewardship of God's chosen people: "Rulers come and go through God's will, but the covenant with the people endures" (199). The ruler was understood even more than before in relation to a specific community that was both religious and national.

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Sergej P. Karpov, История трапезундской империи. Второе издание, исправленное и дополненное. *Новая византийская библиотека, Исследования*. Sankt Petersburg 2017. Izdatel'stvo „Aletejja", ISBN 978–5–903354–07–8. 738 S., zahlr. Abb.
Sergkei P. Karpob, Ιστορία της αυτοκρατορίας της Τραπεζούντας. Μετάφραση Ε. Κριτσέφσκαγια – Α. Ευσταθίου. Επιστημονική επιμέλεια Μ. Γκρατσιάνσκι – Στ. Κορδώσης. Athen, Ethniko Idryma Ereunon, Instituto Istorikon Ereunon 2017. ISBN 978–960–9538–59–6. 641 S., zahlr. Abb.

Die 2007 auf Russisch veröffentlichte (und nunmehr in zweiter, erweiterter Fassung vorliegende) Arbeit ist die erste Darstellung der Geschichte des Kaiserreiches Trapezunt seit J. Ph. Fallmerayer (1827), welche auf einer selbständigen Aufarbeitung aller bis dahin bekannten Quellen beruht, was nicht für die Vorgängerarbeiten von W. Miller und E. Janssens gilt.[1] Die griechische Übersetzung fußt auf der ersten russischen Ausgabe des Jahres 2007, ohne mit dieser deckungsgleich zu sein; das Literaturverzeichnis wurde vollständig aktualisiert. Diese wichtige Monographie wird somit auch jenen zugänglich gemacht, die des Russischen nicht mächtig sind. Im Folgenden soll die aktualisierte russische Fassung des Jahres 2017 in aller Kürze besprochen werden.

Die Einleitung (5–40) bietet einen ausführlichen Überblick über den aktuellen Forschungsstand und die zur Verfügung stehenden Quellen. In diesem Zusammenhang ist darauf hinzuweisen, dass sich K. seit über 50 Jahren der systematischen Erforschung der Geschichte des Kaiserreiches Trapezunt widmet, zahlreiche Teilaspekte inzwischen erschöpfend behandelt und dadurch den Weg für eine umfassende monographische Darstellung freigemacht hat.[2] Diese Arbeiten fußen einerseits auf systematischer Sichtung der byzantinischen, westlichen und orientalischen Quellen und andererseits auf umfassenden Quellenstudien insbesondere im Archivio di Stato di Genova und im Archivio di Stato di Venezia, durch welche zahlreiche dokumentarische Quellen erstmals ans Licht gebracht wurden. Dadurch ist die Dichte der verfügbaren Informationen deutlich gestiegen, und weitere Archivfunde sind wahrscheinlich. Kapitel 1 (41–101) behandelt die Geschichte des griechischen Pontos von der Antike bis in die Zeit vor dem Vierten Kreuzzug. Berücksichtigt werden u. a. regionale Besonderheiten und der pontische Separatismus in mittelbyzantinischer Zeit. Kapitel 2 (102–135) ist

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1 W. Miller, Trebizond, the last Greek empire. London 1926 (Ndr. Amsterdam 1968, griechische Übersetzung Thessalonike 2002); E. Janssens, Trébizonde en Colchide. *Université Libre de Bruxelles*, *Travaux de la Faculté de Philosophie et Lettres*, 40. Brüssel 1969.
2 Vgl. das Publikationsverzeichnis in der Festschrift Море и берега. К 60-летию Сергея Павловича Карпова от коллег и учеников, hrsg. R.M. Šukurov. Moskau 2009, 23–48.

der Gründung des Reiches der Großkomnenen (1204–1215) gewidmet, wobei insbesondere die Rolle Georgiens diskutiert wird. Im Kapitel 3 (136–192) wird die sozio-ökonomische Entwicklung der südlichen Schwarzmeerküste ausführlich behandelt. Durch ausgezeichnete Kenntnis der Quellen und deren Kombination gelingt es K., ein besonders lebhaftes und reichhaltiges Bild zu schildern. Kapitel 4 (193–204) gilt der Verwaltungsstruktur des Reiches. Kapitel 5 (205–229) ist den innenpolitischen Spannungen des Reiches gewidmet, welche zwar gut belegt, aber aufgrund des Quellenmangels schwer zu deuten sind. Kapitel 6 (230–262) behandelt das Verhältnis zwischen Trapezunt und Nikaia/Konstantinopel. Beziehungen zu Epeiros sind in den Quellen bisher nicht belegt. Kapitel 7 (263–279) gilt der trapezuntinischen Kirche. Die Kapitel 8–11 stellen die aktualisierte Fassung einer früheren monographischen Veröffentlichung dar; vgl. S. P. Karpov, Трапезундская империя и западноевропейские государства в XIII–XV вв. Moskau 1981 = L'impero di Trebisonda, Venezia, Genova e Roma 1204–1461: Rapporti politici, diplomatici e commerciali. Rom 1986 = Η αυτοκρατορία της Τραπεζούντας και τα δυτικοευρωπαϊκά κράτη στους 13ο–15ο αιώνες. Athen 2016. Dabei ist darauf hinzuweisen, dass ein wesentlicher Teil der Darstellung auf dokumentarischem Material beruht, welches K. selbst durch langjähriges Archivstudium erschlossen hat. Konkret werden die Beziehungen zu Venedig (Kapitel 8: 280–340), Genua (Kapitel 9: 341–388), dem Papsttum (Kapitel 10: 389–414) und Westeuropa (Kapitel 11: 415–435) detailliert besprochen. Kapitel 12 (436–493) wurde von R. Šukurov verfasst und behandelt die Beziehungen der Großkomnenen zu den muslimischen Nachbarstaaten. Auch hier ist darauf hinzuweisen, dass diese Darstellung auf umfassender und direkter Kenntnis der orientalischen Quellen beruht. Kapitel 13 (494–503) ist den Beziehungen Trapezunts zum Kaukasus gewidmet. Die Quellenlage ist überraschend schlecht, da georgische und armenische Quellen nur äußerst selten über Trapezunt berichten. Kapitel 14 (504–513) behandelt die Beziehungen der Großkomnenen zur Krim und zu den Balkanstaaten. Auch hier ist die Quellenlage äußerst dürftig. Kapitel 15 (514–525) ist den Beziehungen Trapezunts zu den russischen Fürstentümern gewidmet; belegt sind Kontakte auf kirchlicher Ebene, politische Beziehungen sind allenfalls indirekt erschließbar. Kapitel 16 (526–543) behandelt die Eroberung von Trapezunt durch die Osmanen. K. entscheidet sich für das (nun auch ausdrücklich bezeugte) Datum August 1461 ohne weitere Präzisierung, die nicht möglich scheint. Kapitel 17 (544–595) gilt der Kultur des Kaiserreichs Trapezunt, wobei sämtliche Apekte der materiellen und geistigen Kultur gebührend berücksichtigt und ausgewogen dargestellt werden. Kapitel 18 (596–606) ist dem Nachleben des Kaiserreiches insbesondere in der Literatur gewidmet. Auch wenn dieses Thema streng genommen mit der Geschichte des kleinen pontischen Reiches nichts mehr zu tun hat, bietet sich eine kurze Darstellung der literarischen Rezeption auch deswegen

an, weil der Historiker nach Augenmaß zunächst auch solches Material zu sichten (und ggf. zu verwerfen) hat.

Die Publikation wird durch zahlreiche hochwertige Farbabbildungen begleitet, welche dem Leser die materielle Kultur des Reiches nahebringen. Unter den veröffentlichten Abbildungen befinden sich auch einige Aufnahmen, die von der russischen archäologischen Expedition in Trapezunt (1916/17) aufgenommen wurden (vgl. auch nach S. 738). Diese wird in den letzten Jahren unter der Leitung von S. P. Karpov intensiv erforscht; die Ergebnisse sind nicht nur für die Wissenschaftsgeschichte von Interesse, da sich unter dem Archivmaterial auch Dokumentation zu heute nicht mehr vorhandenen Bauten und Artefakten befindet. Die Innenseite des Umschlags enthält einen Stammbaum der Großkomnenen. Wertvoll sind die Beilagen: chronologische Übersicht der Geschichte Trapezunts (611–614), Verzeichnis der *strategoi* und *dukai* von Chaldia, der regierenden Großkomnenen sowie der Bischöfe und Metropoliten von Trapezunt, der venezianischen *baili* und genuesischen Konsuln (615–625). Sehr umfangreich ist die Bibliographie (622–698). Erschlossen wird der Band durch ein Abkürzungsverzeichnis (699–701) und ausführliche Indices (702–738).

Diese Monographie stellt genauso wie die Pionierarbeit Fallmerayers einen Meilenstein in der Erforschung des Kaiserreiches Trapezunt dar. Es wäre daher sehr wünschenswert, wenn Ergebnisse der aktuell laufenden Forschungsvorhaben Eingang in eine künftige dritte Auflage dieser wichtigen und vorbildlichen Publikation finden könnten.

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Spätantike und Byzanz. Bestandskatalog Badisches Landesmuseum Karlsruhe. *Byzanz zwischen Orient und Okzident*, 8, 1–2. Mainz, Verlag des Römisch-Germanischen Zentralmuseums 2017. [Band 1:] Falko Daim, Benjamin Fourlas, Katarina Horst, Vasiliki Tsamakda (Hrsg.): Objekte aus Bein, Elfenbein, Glas, Keramik, Metall und Stein. 252 Seiten, 62 z. T. farbige Abbildungen, 111 Farbtafeln, ISBN 978-3-88467-282-2; [Band 2:] Petra Linscheid: Textilien. 132 Seiten, 113 Farbtafeln, ISBN 978-3-88467-286-0.

Das Badische Landesmuseum in Karlsruhe gehört zu den wenigen Museen in Deutschland mit einer Sammlung spätantiker und byzantinischer Objekte, die auch in einem eigenen Ausstellungsbereich präsentiert wird. Die Sammlung war in der wissenschaftlichen Öffentlichkeit bisher kaum bekannt, da die Stücke

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überwiegend unpubliziert oder nur in Erwerbungsberichten erwähnt waren. Dem wird nun mit der vorliegenden zweibändigen Publikation abgeholfen. Der Katalog entstand seit 2011 durch eine Zusammenarbeit des Museums mit dem Leibniz-WissenschaftsCampus Mainz „Byzanz zwischen Orient und Okzident". Hierdurch wirkten sowohl das Römisch-Germanische Zentralmuseum Mainz mit seinen auf verschiedensten Gebieten spezialisierten Wissenschaftlern, Restauratoren und Labors wie Wissenschaftler der Universität Mainz bei der Bearbeitung des Materials mit, ergänzt um auswertige Spezialisten für einzelne Objektgruppen, insgesamt 18 Mitarbeiter.

Einleitend stellt Katarina Horst im ersten Band die Sammlungsgeschichte vor (S. 9 – 15). Zu den Altbeständen der Sammlung gehörten kaum spätantik-byzantinische Stücke, darunter aber etwa das Fragment einer spätantiken Elfenbeinpyxis aus einem Bodenfund in der Schweiz (Kat. I.1; allerdings erst 1995 aus markgräflich-badischem Besitz in das Museum gelangt). Einige weitere Stücke kommen aus Bodenfunden in Baden (Kat. IV.93. 106 – 108. 158. 180). Die überwiegende Mehrzahl der Stücke wurde erst zwischen 1994 und 2009 erworben, um die Lücke in den Sammlungen des Badischen Landesmuseums zwischen den reichen Beständen zur Antike und zum Mittelalter zu schließen. 214 Objekte kommen aus dem Nachlass des bekannten Händlers George Zacos (1911 – 1983),[3] 35 Stücke aus der Sammlung des lange Jahre in Istanbul tätigen Lehrers Heinz Anstock (1909 – 1980)[4] sowie weitere 10 Stücke von dem Händler Nikolas Koutoulakis (1910 – 1996). Sie entstammen also aus dem Kunsthandel und haben keine sichere Provenienz, die Herkunft kann damit nur durch archäologisch-kunsthistorische Vergleiche bestimmt werden. Auf das ethische Problem des Erwerbs einer Sammlung von archäologischen Objekten am Ende des 20. / Beginn des 21. Jahrhunderts, die offensichtlich großteils aus Raubgrabungen kommen, soll hier nicht näher eingegangen werden. Positiv hingewiesen werden muss aber darauf, dass das Museum die Erwerbsumstände vollständig offenlegt, ein noch nicht immer selbstverständlicher Vorgang. Problematisch erscheint jedoch die Angabe der Provenienz als „Sammlung Zacos": Es handelt sich um den Nachlass eines Antikenhändlers, nicht um eine „Privatsammlung" im eigentlichen Sinne.

Den Hauptteil des Bandes umfasst der Katalog der 286 Stücke des Museums, gegliedert nach Materialgruppen (Elfenbein- und Beinschnitzerei (I), Glas (II), Keramik (III), Metall (IV), Stein (V)). Im Anhang (S. 205 – 213) finden sich archäometrische Analysen, deren Ergebnisse in die Katalogtexte eingeflossen sind.

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3 Ein noch umfangreicherer Bestand aus dieser Quelle kam in das Genfer Musée d'art et d'histoire, s. M. Martiniani-Reber (éd.), Donation Janet Zakos. De Rome à Byzance. Genf 2015.

4 Von diesem stammen auch die ca. 400 byzantinischen Gürtelschnallen im Besitz des RGZM.

Einzelne Abschnitte mit ihren ausführlichen Einleitungen wie etwa zu Lampen und Leuchterzubehör aus Buntmetall (S. 73–103, Jörg Drauschke/Karin Kirchhainer) oder Metallstempeln (S. 161–168, Michael Grünbart) sind als umfassende Einführung in die jeweilige Materialgattung auch weit über einen Museumskatalog von Nutzen. Nachfolgend einige Anmerkungen und Ergänzungen zu Einzelstücken:[5]

Kat. I.1: Ein Bestandskatalog sollte in den Literaturangaben vollständig sein und auch die bei Volbach 1976 zitierte, bis 1878 zurückgehende Literatur anführen. Abweichend von der gesamten bisherigen Literatur findet sich die Angabe, das Stück sei 1841 gefunden worden, nicht 1848, die Antwort hätte die hier fehlende Abbildung der Rückseite gegeben, auf der ein Zettel mit dem Datum klebt. Die Zuweisung dieser Elfenbeinpyxis nach Alexandria ist keineswegs gesichert.

Kat. I.2: Das Stück wurde vor Karlsruhe der Dumbarton Oaks Collection angeboten, von dieser jedoch nicht erworben, s. K. Weitzmann, Sailing with Byzantium from Europe to America: The memoirs of an art historian. München 1994, 399.

Kat. III.7: Bei dieser nordafrikanischen Terra Sigillata-Schale mit Damnatio ad bestias-Darstellung fehlt ein Hinweis auf die Untersuchungen von M. Mackensen zur genaueren Chronologie und Lokalisierung dieser Gattung. Publiziert EAA. Atlante delle forme ceramiche I. Rom 1981, 172 Nr. 108 Taf. 86, 1; C. Vismara, Il supplizio come spettacolo. Rom 1990, 44 Abb. 17; H. R. Seeliger, in F.W. Graf/K. Wiegandt (Hrsg.), Die Anfänge des Christentums. Frankfurt 2009, 368 Abb. 5; D. Boin, A social and cultural history of Late Antiquity. Hoboken 2018, 150 Abb. 8.7. Zu Ikonographie und Vergleichsbeispielen A. van den Hoek/J. J. Hermann, Pottery, pavements, and paradise. Iconographic and textual studies on late antiquity. Leiden 2013, 94–101 (das Karlsruher Stück 97 Abb. 10).

Kat. III.9–30: mittelbyzantinische Sgraffito-Schalen (bearbeitetet von Beate Böhlendorf-Arslan), meist aus Schiffsfunden.

Kat. III.32: Bisher unikale vollständige Keramikkachel der St. Symeonware.

Kat. III.33: Auf das singuläre kleine Kirchenmodell aus Ton sei ausdrücklich hingewiesen, umsichtig bearbeitet und in mittelbyzantinische Zeit datiert von Urs Peschlow. Hier fragt man sich, ob nicht vielleicht eine Thermolumineszenzdatierung weitere Aufschlüsse erbringen könnte.

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5 B. Bollmann, stein – reich. Gemmen und Kameen aus vier Jahrtausenden (Katalog Karlsruhe 1997) 27 Nr. 55 (ohne Abb.) führt noch eine spätantike Gemme mit einem Portrait, frühes 5. Jh., auf, die hier im Katalog nicht erscheint.

Kat. IV.106 – 108: Die drei silbernen Phalerae aus dem Reitergrab von Hüfingen (bearbeitet von Gerhard Fingerlin) sollen „zweifellos mediterraner Herkunft" sein, doch sähe man dafür gerne mediterrane Vergleichsbeispiele angeführt. K. Böhner, *Jahrbuch des RGZM* 38 (1991) 707 Abb. 20, 1 – 2 (hier nicht zitiert), hat etwa die Scheiben einer „alemannischen Werkstatt" zugeschrieben. Ähnlich gilt dies auch für Objekte wie den Münzfingerring Kat. IV.95 (bearbeitet von Dieter Quast), der einerseits als „östlicher Mittelmeerraum (?)", andererseits als „… Produkt eines im Langobardischen oder Fränkischen Reich arbeitenden Goldschmiedes …" klassifiziert wird. Beide Beispiele zeigen erneut, wie schwer die genaue Einordnung „ostmediterraner Objekte" aus merowingerzeitlichen Kontexten im Westen mangels publizierter Vergleichsfunde aus sicher ostmediterranen Kontexten bleiben muss.

Kat. IV.115 – 120: Hier legt Benjamin Fourlas einen Verwahrfund von Silbergefäßen des 6./frühen 7. Jahrhunderts wohl aus der Bekaa-Ebene im Libanon vor, die nach der Inschrift eines Rauchgefäßes aus einer dem Hl. Konstantin geweihten Kirche stammen. Daran werden wichtige Beobachtungen zum frühen Heiligenkult und zur Ikonographie Konstantins I. angeschlossen, die so nie zusammengetragen wurden und weit über einen Katalogbeitrag hinausgehen. Auch die Analyse der Inschriften, die Framarich, einen Westgoten, und Karilos, einen Gallo-Römer, als Stifter im ostmediterranen Raum nennen, liefert Ergebnisse von kulturhistorischer Wichtigkeit.

Kat. IV.114: Publizert bei H. G. Nagel, Prozessionskreuze und Prozessionen in Byzanz (Dissertation Heidelberg 2012), 15. 206 – 207 Nr. 4 Taf. 4.

Kat. V.4: Hier präsentiert Urs Peschlow ausgehend von einem Steinreliquiar aus prokonnesischem Marmor wichtige Beobachtungen zur Verwendung dieser Reliquiare im Kontext der Reliquienverehrung.

Kat. V.9: Erwähnt bei H. Wenzel, in: Mouseion. Studien aus Kunst und Geschichte für Otto H. Förster. Köln 1960, 88 Anm. 3.

Den zweiten Band des Werkes bildet der Katalog der insgesamt 207 Textilien aus dem spätantik/byzantinisch-frühislamischen Ägypten, bearbeitet von Petra Linscheid. Sie wurden größtenteils 1889 bzw. 1899 erworben und gehen auf die Sammlungen des Kanonikus Franz Bock aus Aachen (32 Stücke) und des Konsuls Carl August Reinhard in Kairo (173 Stücke, von diesem kommen auch zehn der im ersten Band publizierten Objekte) zurück und gehören zu den im späten 19. Jahrhundert durch Kunstgewerbemuseen häufig erworbenen Sammlungen „koptischer" Textilien; so finden sich dann auch eine große Zahl zugehöriger Fragmente in anderen Sammlungen (S. 10 – 11, 127 – 129). Nur drei Stücke (Kat. 12. 90 – 91) sind neuere Erwerbungen aus dem Kunsthandel. Eingeleitet wird der Band nach Angaben zur Provenienzgeschichte (S. 9 – 11) durch Kapitel zu Fundorten,

Datierung, Technik, Färbung und Funktionen der Textilien in der Karlsruher Sammlung (S. 11–24). Der Katalog ist nach der Funktion der Stücke gegliedert, Kleidungsstücke (Kat. 1–65), Einrichtungs- und Gebrauchstextilien (Kat. 66–102) sowie Textilien unbestimmbarer Funktion (Kat. 103–207). Sie werden unter Hinzuziehung aller bekannten Vergleichsstücke und deren Datierung umfassend eingeordnet.

Mit diesem zweibändigen Katalog liegen die spätantik-byzantinischen Bestände des Badischen Landesmuseum nun in mustergültiger Weise bearbeitet vor, er kann als Beispiel für Kataloge weiterer Sammlungen dienen. Er geht an vielen Stellen über den Inhalt eines reinen „Bestandskatalogs" hinaus, untersucht er doch von den Stücken ausgehend häufig übergreifende Fragestellungen. Die Zusammenarbeit eines Museums und eines Forschungsinstituts hat dies möglich gemacht und nun der Karlsruher Sammlung einen wichtigen Platz unter den Sammlungen byzantinischer Objekte bereitet.

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Marcel Martin, Světlo z Byzance. Řecká studia v renesanční Itálii, 1360–1534 [Licht von Byzanz. Griechische Studien im Italien der Renaissance, 1360–1534]. Červený Kostelec, Pavel Mervart 2018. 477 S. ISBN 978-80-7465-295-0.

Abgesehen von ein paar Kapiteln über die Buchkultur im byzantinischen Reich in der klassischen Arbeit der kürzlich verstorbenen Prof. Růžena Dostálová (1924–2014)[6] und den sehr spezifische Monographien von Viktor Kubík[7] über Böhmen wurde das Thema des rezensierten Buchs bisher nicht systematisch behandelt. Die Übertragung byzantinischer Handschriften und der Buchkultur auf das italienische Umfeld und der Einfluss der byzantinischen Manuskripttraditionen und Sprachkultur auf den aufkommenden Renaissance-Humanismus in Italien fand in Böhmen wenig Beachtung. Das Thema ist *terra incognita*. Die Situation wurde durch die überarbeitete Monographie von Marcel Martin geändert, die der Autor

6 R. Dostálová Byzantská vzdělanost [Byzantinische Bildung]. Praha 1990, 93 f.
7 V. Kubík, Příručka ke studiu středověké ornamentiky. Italské rukopisy (1200–1330) a byzantské rukopisy 10.–13. století. České Budějovice 2008; ders., Poznámky ke vzniku italského gotického systému výzdoby bordur, in K. Horníčkova / M. Šroněk (eds.). Žena ve člunu. Sborník Hany J. Hlaváčkové. Artefactum – Ústav dějin umění AV ČR. Praha 2007, 53–70.

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im Anschluss an mehrere Aufsätze veröffentlicht hat,[8] die dem *opus magnum* selbst vorausgehen. J. STEJSKALS Buch,[9] das sich zum Teil mit einem ähnlichen Thema befasst, hat den Charakter einer monasteriologischen Studie.

Die vorliegende Monographie analysiert den Einfluss der byzantinischen literarischen Bildung auf den aufkommenden Humanismus in Italien. Der Autor behandelt hauptsächlich die Übertragung griechischer Handschriften in die untersuchte Umgebung und deren Einfluss auf den akademischen Boden Italiens. In diesem Sinn ist die Arbeit eine Pilotstudie in der tschechischen Byzanzforschung, wie der Autor selbst bemerkt: „Das Ziel dieses Buches ist es, die Konturen der kulturellen Übersetzung und den tatsächlichen Prozess der Restaurierung der griechischen Studien im Rahmen des italienischen Humanismus in der Zeit zwischen 1360 und 1534 zu beschreiben. Das erste Datum bezieht sich auf den Beginn des Wirkens von Leonzio Pilato in Florenz, das zweite auf das Todesjahr des byzantinischen Gelehrten Ioannes Laskaris, des prominenten Herausgebers griechischer Werke, und es wird in hohem Maße auf dessen byzantinischen Humanismus hingewiesen.“ (S. 23).

Die Arbeit befasst sich dabei mit folgenden Personen: Nicollo da Reggio, Barlaaam von Seminara, Leonzio Pilato, Francesco Petrarca, Giovanni Boccaccio, Simon Atumano, Manuel Chrysoloras und seine Schüler Roberto Rossi, Jacopo Angeli de Scarperia, Leonardo Bruni, Guarino Guarini von Verona; ferner mit Vittorino da Feltre, Ambrogio Traversari, Francesco Barbaro, Giovanni Aurispa, Rinuccio Aretino von Castiglione, Francesco Filelfo, Antonio Cassaarino, Giovanni Tortelli, Jan Stojkovic von Ragusa, Christoforo Garatone da Trevigi, Ciriaco d’Ancona, Christoforo da Buondelmonti, Antonio da Massa und Bartolomeo Aragazzi da Montepulciano. Besonders intensiv befasst sich der Autor mit den Schreibern des 15. Jahrhunderts, nämlich Konstantin Laskaris, Michael Suliados, Michael Trivolis.

In den letzten Kapiteln beschäftigt sich MARTIN schließlich auch mit den Protagonisten, die den Aufstieg des Humanismus in Italien maßgeblich beeinflusst haben, das heißt mit Pallo Strozzi, Niccolo Leonico Tomeo und Basileios Bessarion. Dazu kommen Untersuchungen zu den ersten gedruckten griechischen Büchern und den Buchhandlungen, also zu Zacharias Kallergis, Aldo Manuzio,

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8 M. MARTIN, Demetrios Chalkondyles: život a dílo. Post scriptum: Dva inaugurační proslovy k založení katedry řeckých studií při univerzitě v Padově roku 1463. *Byzantinoslovaca* 4 (2012) 126 – 149; DERS., Latinské překlady řeckých děl 12. a 13. století ve vztahu k jižní Itálii, Sicílii a severoitalským městským státům: předpoklady, povaha, následný vývoj a paralely k dalším dobovým překladatelským školám. Parresia 8 (2014) 373 – 437.

9 J. STEJSKAL, Řecké dědictví na západě. Monasticismus, misie a střední Evropa ve středověku. Veduta, České Budějovice 2011.

Demetrios Chalkondyles, Ioannes Laskaris, Markos Musuros, Giannozzo Manetti, Georgios von Trapezunt, Theodoros Gaza, Andronikos Kallistos, Georgios Hermonymos, Andronikos Kontoblakas und Nicolo Perotti.

Die Aufzählung der Protagonisten des kulturellen Austauschs, die das Buch behandelt, ist umfassend, doch geht es nicht im Geringsten auf den Austausch selbst ein und hat letztlich den Charakter einer Materialsammlung, was sich auch im literarischen Stil des Autors zeigt. Es ist bedauerlich, dass er nicht stärker essayistisch gearbeitet hat und nicht tiefer in das Thema eingedrungen ist. Wäre das geschehen, hätte das Buch freilich leicht einen Umfang von mehr als tausend Seiten erreicht. Schon in der vorliegenden Form wird der Text von einer unerträglichen Anzahl von Verweisen begleitet – ein Kapitel ist im Durchschnitt mit 400 Fußnoten versehen.

Um die Probleme besser zu verstehen, mit denen sich der Autor befasst, muss man zunächst festhalten, worauf sich diese Monographie *nicht* bezieht: Es geht weder um paläographische Fragen, noch um die Beziehung byzantinischen Manuskript-Illuminationen zu italienischen Werkstätten, um den byzantinischn Einfluss auf die italienischen Scriptoria, um die griechische Kodikologie, den Prozess der Übertragung von Handschriften, um Fragen der Übersetzungswissenschaft wie die Übersetzung aus dem Lateinischen ins Griechische und umgekehrt, und um speziell sprachliche Fragen, wie z. B. das Verhältnis des Griechischen zum lexikalischen Bestand des humanistischen Lateins usw.

Es handelt sich hier um ein sehr dichtes Buch, für das der Leser eine sorgfältige Vorbereitung und gute Kenntnis des historischen Kontextes benötigt. Doch ist der Sinn dieser Monographie außerhalb eines speziellen wissenschaftlichen Themas zu sehen. Es sollte vermerkt werden, dass der Autor nicht in klassischen Sprachen oder im Italienischen ausgebildet ist; das Buch ist in erster Linie auf der Basis von Sekundärliteratur und von Quellen nicht in griechischer oder lateinischer Sprche entstanden, und erhält auf diese Weise den Charakter einer synthetischen Übersicht. Es geht dem Autor vor allem um „den Prozess der Wiederherstellung der griechischen Studien im italienischen Humanismus ... in einem breiteren kulturellen Kontext", also um den ideologischen Einfluss griechischer Werke im kulturellen Kontext Italiens. In der Umgebung der tschechischen Byzantinistik hat er seine Aufgabe hervorragend erfüllt.

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Jean-Marie Olivier, Supplément au répertoire des bibliothèques et des catalogues de manuscrits grecs (*Corpus Christianorum*). Turnhout, Brepols 2018. 2 Bde. 1466 S. ISBN 978 – 2 – 503 – 57718 – 0.

Die im Folgenden zu besprechende Publikation nimmt sich zum Ziel, das 1995 publizierte Repertorium (zu dem auf S. V–LXXIII umfangreiche Korrekturen veröffentlicht werden; meist handelt es sich lediglich um Druckfehler) zu aktualisieren (und nicht etwa zu ersetzen). Erstmals wird auf Digitalisate von Publikationen sowie von Handschriften selbst hingewiesen, was sehr nützlich ist. Aufgrund von Querverweisen auf die Publikation des Jahres 1995 ergibt sich jedoch für den Leser die Notwendigkeit, neben den beiden Bänden des Supplements auch noch das einbändige Repertorium zu benutzen. Eine Schwierigkeit resultiert aus der konsequenten Verwendung originalsprachlicher Bezeichnungen (mit Zugeständnissen etwa im Falle von Arabisch oder Japanisch), was bei leicht unterschiedlicher Verwendung des kyrillischen Alphabets in verschiedenen slawischen Sprachen für Leser ohne entsprechende Sprachkenntnisse zu Schwierigkeiten führen dürfte. Vielleicht wäre es nützlich gewesen, zu selbständig publizierten Katalogen auch Rezensionen zu vermerken.

Das Konzept und die Anlage des Repertoriums bleiben praktisch unverändert; trotz der zur Verfügung stehenden digitalen Hilfsmittel handelt sich um eine wichtige Publikation, die für Arbeiten auf dem Gebiet der griechischen Philologie und der Hilfswissenschaften unabdingbar ist. Sie zeichnet sich durch Vollständigkeit und Akribie aus. Da die Fülle des veröffentlichten Materials jedoch kaum überschaubar ist, sollen im Folgenden einige wenige Ergänzungen angebracht werden (in alphabetischer Reihenfolge der Bibliotheksorte; Publikationen des Rezensenten mit Asterisk versehen).

Juridische Handschriften (26 – 27)

A. Schminck† / D. Getov, Repertorium der Handschriften des byzantinischen Rechts III. Die Handschriften des kirchlichen Rechts II (Nr. 428 – 527). Auswahl an Handschriften der Kanonessammlungen mit durchgängigen Kommentaren des Alexios Aristenos, Ioannes Zonaras und Theodoros Balsamon. Frankfurt am Main 2017.

Repertorien nach Autoren (34 – 45)

Philostrat: * Die Handschriften der Sophistenviten Philostrats. *Römische Historische Mitteilungen* 56 (2014) 137– 206; Polemon: * Die Überlieferung der Deklamationen Polemons. *Römische Historische Mitteilungen* 55 (2013) 99 – 154.

Repertorien nach geographischer Provenienz (45 – 47)

Pontos: * Aspekte griechischer Buchproduktion in der Schwarzmeerregion. *Scripta* 7 (2014) 205 – 233.

Kataloge und Repertorien nach Bibliotheksorten

Ἀθήνα: *Varia palaeographica Atheniensia. *RSBN* n. s. 51 (2014 [2015]) 137 – 173 (verschiedene Bibliotheken); B. Chatzopulu, Κατάλογος ἑλληνικῶν χειρογράφων τοῦ Μουσείου Μπενάκη (16ος–20ὸς αἰώνας). Athen 2017.

București: S. Valente, Die Werke des Nikephoros Blemmydes in der Manuskriptsammlung der Bibliotecă Academiei Române (Bukarest): ein erster Bericht. *Nea Rhome* 13 (2016 [2017]) 277 – 286.

Città del Vaticano: * Ein wiederentdecktes Argyrobull des Despotes Theodoros Palaiologos. *BZ* 105 (2012) 813 – 828 (Vat. gr. 2274); * Zwei Konjekturen zu Herodot. *Gymnasium* 119 (2012) 183 – 188 (Vat. gr. 2369); * Die griechische Bibliothek des Angelo Vadio da Rimini. *Römische Historische Mitteilungen* 54 (2012) 95 – 184 (Urb. gr. 1 – 165); * Zwei fragmentarische Urkunden aus vatikanischen Handschriften. *Miscellanea Bibliothecae Apostolicae Vaticanae* 20 (2014) 695 – 705 (Vat. gr. 996).

Dumbarton Oaks: N. Kavrus-Hoffmann, A newly acquired Gospel manuscript at Dumbarton Oaks (DO MS 5). Codicological and palaeographic description and analysis. *DOP* 70 (2016) 293 – 324.

Erlangen: M. Bandini, Un nuovo libro della Biblioteca di Guarino Veronese. *Rivista di filologia e di istruzione classica* 136 (2008) 257 – 266.

Ἅγιον Ὄρος: * Mitteilungen aus Athos-Handschriften. *Wiener Studien* 127 (2014) 121 – 150 (Vatopedi, Megiste Lavra); * Anmerkungen zu einigen zypriotisch-palästinensischen Handschriften des Athosklosters Vatopedi. *Nea Rhome* 10 (2013) [2014] 109 – 137. Zu den Handschriften des Klosters Vatopedi (480 – 488) ist zu vermerken, dass es neben nicht katalogisierten Codices eine sehr umfangreiche und teils wertvolle Fragmentsammlung gibt. Die Katalogarbeit (S. 481 mit Anm. 1) hat der Rezensent aufgegeben; zwei Katalogbände von R. Tocci und E. Lamberz sind in Vorbereitung. Zu den nichtgriechischen Handschriften des Klosters vgl. Nr. 1122 m mit Anm. 1 auf S. 57.

Ἡράκλειο: Historisches Museum (584). Mehrere nicht katalogisierte Fragmente liturgischen oder theologischen Inhalts, teilweise mit provinziellen Zügen (möglicherweise ältere lokale Produktion; Autopsie 2012).

Καστοριά: D. Bianconi, *Sparagmata* di un antico testimone dell'Historia ecclesiastica di Eusebio di Cesarea. *RSBN* n. s. 53 (2016 [2017]) 103 – 122.

Melfi: Nr. 1647 m erschienen in: *RSBN* n. s. 52 (2015 [2016]) 93 – 153.

Modena: A. Palla, Un testimone trascurato della *Seconda lettera ad Ammeo* di nDionigi di Alicarnasso. *Nea Rhome* 13 (2016 [2017]) 33 – 44.

Napoli: Catalogus codicum graecorum Bibliothecae nationalis Neapolitanae. Volumen III. A cura di M. R. Formentin con la collaborazione di F. Richetti / L. Siben. *Indici e Cataloghi* n.s., 8/3. Rom 2015.

Πάφος: A. Jakovljević, A descriptive catalogue of the Greek manuscripts in the Library of the Monastery of Kykkos. Nikosia 2016.

Perugia: I manoscritti greci di Perugia. Biblioteca Comunale Augusta e Biblioteca dell'Archivio del Monastero di San Pietro. Catalogo a cura di I. Proietti. – siehe dazu die Besprechung unten S. 821.

Roma: D. Surace, Frammenti greci dal codice *Rom. Bibl. Naz. Centr. S. A. Valle 79 (Etymologicum Gudianum). Nea Rhome* 13 (2016) [2017] 287 – 303.

Siena (Autopsie 2016): Senens. H. VI. 9 (15. Jh. Ende, italienisches Pergament; eine einzige westliche Hand); Senens. H. IX. 9 (eher 15. Jh. Ende; italienisches Pergament; A: ff. 1^{r}–9^{v}, 22^{r}–38^{r}, Marg. ff. 46^{r}, 53^{r}, 64^{v}–65^{r}, 67^{r-v}: westliche Hand; B: ff. 11^{r}–21^{r}). Senensis X. VI. 3 (Psalter; westliches Papier, Quartfaltung). Nicht 17. Jh. Eine einzige griechische Hand (ff. 1^{r}–118^{v}): <Ioannes Skutariotes> (ungewöhnliche Duktusvariante). Vgl. auch G. Garosi, Inventario dei manoscritti della Biblioteca Comunale degli Intronati di Siena I. Manoscritti 1 – 542. Siena 2002, 41 (mit Datierung ins 15. Jh.).

Θεσσαλονίκη: E. K. Litsas / S. Mpugiukle, Κατάλογος χειρογράφων τῆς Ἑταιρείας Μακεδονικῶν Σπουδῶν. *Makedonika* 42 (2017) 423 – 456.

София: D. Getov, A catalogue of the Greek manuscripts at the Ecclesiastical Historical and Archival Institute of the Patriarchate of Bulgaria II. Turnhout 2017.

Wien: L. Diamantopoulou / A. Skordos / M. A. Stassinopoulou, Forschungsprojekte als Motor der Sammlungen am Institut für Byzantinistik und Neogräzistik, in H. Szemethy / M. Klemun / M. Fuchs / F. Blakolmer / M. Beitl (Hrsg.), Gelehrte Objekte? – Wege zum Wissen. Aus den Sammlungen der Historisch-Kulturwissenschaftlichen Fakultät der Universität Wien. Wien 2013, 83 – 101, hier 88 – 95 mit Abb. auf S. 89, 92 und 99. Zu ergänzen sind ferner ein Proskynetarion des 17./18. Jh.s, das am Institut für Kunstgeschichte der Universität Wien aufbewahrt wird, sowie der Codex Vind. suppl. gr. 203, vgl. E. Gamillscheg, Theodosios Zygomalas als Bearbeiter einer Katene, in Ch. Gastgeber (Hrsg.), Miscellanea codicum graecorum Vindobonensium I. Studien zu griechischen Handschriften der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek. *ÖAW, phil.-hist. Kl., Denkschriften* 380 = *Veröffentlichungen zur Byzanzforschung* 17. Wien 2009, 99 – 114.

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Isabella Proietti (a cura di), I manoscritti greci di Perugia. Biblioteca Comunale Augusta e Biblioteca dell'Archivio del Monastero di San Pietro. Catalogo. *Quaderni del „Centro per il collegamento degli studi medievali e umanistici in*

Napoli: Catalogus codicum graecorum Bibliothecae nationalis Neapolitanae. Volumen III. A cura di M. R. Formentin con la collaborazione di F. Richetti / L. Siben. *Indici e Cataloghi* n.s., 8/3. Rom 2015.

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Perugia: I manoscritti greci di Perugia. Biblioteca Comunale Augusta e Biblioteca dell'Archivio del Monastero di San Pietro. Catalogo a cura di I. Proietti. – siehe dazu die Besprechung unten S. 821.

Roma: D. Surace, Frammenti greci dal codice *Rom. Bibl. Naz. Centr. S. A. Valle 79 (Etymologicum Gudianum). Nea Rhome* 13 (2016) [2017] 287–303.

Siena (Autopsie 2016): Senens. H. VI. 9 (15. Jh. Ende, italienisches Pergament; eine einzige westliche Hand); Senens. H. IX. 9 (eher 15. Jh. Ende; italienisches Pergament; A: ff. 1^{r}–9^{v}, 22^{r}–38^{r}, Marg. ff. 46^{r}, 53^{r}, 64^{v}–65^{r}, 67^{r-v}: westliche Hand; B: ff. 11^{r}–21^{r}). Senensis X. VI. 3 (Psalter; westliches Papier, Quartfaltung). Nicht 17. Jh. Eine einzige griechische Hand (ff. 1^{r}–118^{v}): <Ioannes Skutariotes> (ungewöhnliche Duktusvariante). Vgl. auch G. Garosi, Inventario dei manoscritti della Biblioteca Comunale degli Intronati di Siena I. Manoscritti 1–542. Siena 2002, 41 (mit Datierung ins 15. Jh.).

Θεσσαλονίκη: E. K. Litsas / S. Mpugiukle, Κατάλογος χειρογράφων τῆς Ἑταιρείας Μακεδονικῶν Σπουδῶν. *Makedonika* 42 (2017) 423–456.

София: D. Getov, A catalogue of the Greek manuscripts at the Ecclesiastical Historical and Archival Institute of the Patriarchate of Bulgaria II. Turnhout 2017.

Wien: L. Diamantopoulou / A. Skordos / M. A. Stassinopoulou, Forschungsprojekte als Motor der Sammlungen am Institut für Byzantinistik und Neogräzistik, in H. Szemethy / M. Klemun / M. Fuchs / F. Blakolmer / M. Beitl (Hrsg.), Gelehrte Objekte? – Wege zum Wissen. Aus den Sammlungen der Historisch-Kulturwissenschaftlichen Fakultät der Universität Wien. Wien 2013, 83–101, hier 88–95 mit Abb. auf S. 89, 92 und 99. Zu ergänzen sind ferner ein Proskynetarion des 17./18. Jh.s, das am Institut für Kunstgeschichte der Universität Wien aufbewahrt wird, sowie der Codex Vind. suppl. gr. 203, vgl. E. Gamillscheg, Theodosios Zygomalas als Bearbeiter einer Katene, in Ch. Gastgeber (Hrsg.), Miscellanea codicum graecorum Vindobonensium I. Studien zu griechischen Handschriften der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek. *ÖAW, phil.-hist. Kl., Denkschriften* 380 = *Veröffentlichungen zur Byzanzforschung* 17. Wien 2009, 99–114.

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Isabella Proietti (a cura di), I manoscritti greci di Perugia. Biblioteca Comunale Augusta e Biblioteca dell'Archivio del Monastero di San Pietro. Catalogo. *Quaderni del „Centro per il collegamento degli studi medievali e umanistici in*

Umbria", 56. Spoleto, Fondazione Centro Italiano di Studi sull'Alto Medioevo 2016. 253 S. 32 Tf. ISBN 978–88–6809–104–0.

Der vorliegende Katalog ersetzt die von E. Mioni vorgelegte Beschreibung von 38 in Perugia aufbewahrten griechischen Handschriften; zu den von ihm erfassten Codices kommt hier erstmals ein Manuskript hinzu, das im Archiv des Klosters San Pietro aufbewahrt wird (S. 199–201 mit Tf. 33: grammatikalische Schriften des Konstantinos Laskaris, kopiert von <Immanuel Rhusotas>). Auf S. 1–53 geht die Verfasserin ausführlich auf die Geschichte der Sammlung ein; diese geht größtenteils auf Francesco Maturanzio (†1518) zurück, der sich zum Studium des Griechischen auf Rhodos und kurzfristig auf Kreta aufgehalten hat. Darüber hinaus hat er Handschriften auch nach seiner Rückkehr nach Italien erworben, insbesondere in Venedig. Seine Handschriften sind (mit bedeutenden Verlusten, die sich nur zum Teil identifizieren lassen: 6 in der Bibliotheca Apostolica Vaticana, 2 an der Bibliothèque nationale de France und eine in Neapel / El Escorial) über das 1797/1810 aufgelöste Kloster des San Pietro di Perugia an die Biblioteca Comunale Augusta gekommen; von 39 in Perugia aufbewahrten griechischen Handschriften gehen 32 auf Maturanzio zurück. Auf S. 21–34 wird ein im Jahre 1529 verfasstes, 104 Codices umfassendes Inventar der Bibliothek des Maturanzio ediert und eine Identifizierung der Bände vorgenommen. Auf S. 53–59 geht die Autorin kurz auf die Typologie der Handschriften ein; es handelt sich überwiegend um kretische Codices der 2. Hälfte des 15. Jahrhunderts. Als Vor- oder Nachsatzblätter finden sich auch ältere Fragmente; die älteste, von Georgios Baiophoros palimpsestierte Handschrift gehört dem 9./10. Jh. an (*scriptura inferior*; Nr. 31 = Perus. I 31: 167–170). Aus inhaltlichen Gründen hervorzuheben ist ein nicht identifiziertes Lexikon im Perus. G 83 (Nr. 26: 151–154). Auf S. 63–68 schließlich werden die Prinzipien der Katalogeinträge erörtert. Erschlossen wird der Band durch mehrere ausführliche Indices (235–253). Beigegeben sind zahlreiche Tafeln, welche eine Überprüfung der zum Teil erstmals von der Autorin vorgenommenen Zuweisungen ermöglichen. Leider fehlen Abbildungen zweier subskribierter Handschriften, deren Kopisten nicht anderwärtig belegt zu sein scheinen; sie hätten die Möglichkeit künftiger Zuweisungen eröffnen können (Nr. 18 = Perus. F 53: 128–131; Nr. 34 = Perus. I. 106: 177–180). In der Legende zur Tf. VII fehlt die auf S. 108 vorgenommene Zuweisung an <Georgios Tribizias>. Tf. XV, fig. 15b zeigt die Hand des <Georgios Kalophrenas> (Zuweisung erwogen auf S. 139). In der Legende zu Tf. XXVII lies entsprechend S. 182 <mano B> statt <mano A>. Tf. XXIX, Fig. 29a zeigt – zumindest um nach der Schriftprobe zu urteilen – die Hand des <Georgios Gregoropulos>. Druckfehler: ἐτελέσθε (S. 99), Ὀδεγῶν (S. 186, 194). Auf die Schnittdekoration kretischer Handschriften wird bei erhaltenen Einbänden eingegangen (S. 78, 186); doch wäre es interessant, zu erfahren, ob diese auch dann erhalten ist,

wenn der kretische Einband später ersetzt wurde, ein Fall, der vielfach belegt ist.[10] Die vorliegende Publikation zeigt, dass eine Neukatalogisierung der griechischen Handschriften in kleineren italienischen Bibliotheken zahlreiche neue Erkenntnisse bringen kann.

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Georgii Cedreni Historiarum Compendium. Edizione critica a cura di Luigi Tartaglia. *Bolletino dei Classici, Supplementum,* 30. Roma, Bardi Edizioni 2016. 2 vols, p. 1–475 & 476–936. ISBN 978-88-218-1120-3.

Originally intended for the apparently now defunct Series Italica of the Corpus Fontium Historiae Byzantinae, T (=Tartaglia)'s critical edition of George Kedrenos' world chronicle (=K) has been published by the prestigious Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei. It definitively replaces Xylander's 1566 *editio princeps*, based on a single manuscript and reprinted by Fabrot in 1647 with additional notes and by Bekker in 1838–1839, who had access to a second manuscript.

T's edition does not include the last 40% of K's full text, copied verbatim from Skylitzes and edited by Thurn in 1973, so it covers only the years from Creation to the death of Nikephoros I in 811 CE. This is long – about 220,000 words – and collation of the manuscripts would have been a huge enough task. But K's *Compendium* is a tapestry of copied passages, and T has identified the source of nearly every word (including the mostly unpublished Pseudo-Symeon of *Paris.gr.* 1712). The product of decades of meticulous scholarship, T's edition is a monumental academic achievement.

A list of bibliographical abbreviations (p. 7–11) precedes the Introduction (p. 13–66). The Greek text occupies p. 71–792. At the end is an Index of Proper Names (p. 795–897), an *Index Fontium* (p. 899–934, a reverse index of the *apparatus fontium*), and a Table of Contents (p. 935).

The Introduction covers the essentials: what is known of the author and what can be inferred about how he produced his text – here T makes the interesting suggestion that K started with Skylitzes and sought to compile a prequel,

10 Vgl. R. S. Stefec, Zur Schnittdekoration kretischer Handschriften. *Miscellanea Bibliothecae Apostolicae Vaticanae* 19 (2012) 501–533; S. 504 mit Anm. 9 wäre in der Bibliographie der hier besprochenen Publikation nachzutragen.

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retaining Skylitzes' proem and adopting its principles in drawing from a variety of sources, renewing the chronicle tradition with new material, and creating a unique, complex synthesis. T divides the contents into five major historical units and identifies the impressive number and variety of new topics introduced into the chronicle tradition. An overview of K's direct and indirect sources and his chronological system follows, complemented by titles for all 498 chapters into which T has divided the text. Details are given of all known manuscripts and the relationships between them (two branches, both deriving from a single archetype); T's evaluation of the manuscripts (p. 47–58) is entirely credible and inspires confidence in the choices he has made in establishing the text. Finally, there is an account of the marginalia and of the previous editions, a stemma of the manuscripts, and explanations of the *apparatus*, of the division into chapters, and of the silent regularization of proper names.

T (p. 58–61) indicates (but does not quote) a number of passages that are marginalia in some manuscripts and in others were incorporated into the text. Eleven of these occur in both branches of the manuscript tradition and were thus in the margin of their archetype and, as T suggests, may have been added by K himself. The text of these could have been included in the *apparatus ad locum*.

A consolidated bibliography would have been convenient – p. 7–11 of the Introduction give full details of the three previous editions and forty-three frequently-cited primary and secondary sources; the description of each manuscript (p. 33–47) has its own bibliography, with full details; and four bibliographical abbreviations appear in the *Sigla atque breviata* (p. 70). Of less frequently cited references, full details are given *ad locum*, though not always: you will search in vain for an expansion of footnote 7 (p. 14): "Cfr. Glyc., *quaest. in sacr. script.* 56 = p. 117, 2 Eustratiades". The *index fontium* also gives minimal bibliographical details, e. g. "Hippol(ytus), ed. Bauer-Helm, PG, Marcovich" followed by the abbreviated titles "chron.", "de duodecim apost.", "ref. omn. haer.". For scholars this is perhaps adequate, but it does define T's intended readership. On the other hand, T did not set out to produce a commentary and it would be unfair to complain that he has not included every publication that has ever mentioned K.

The Greek text is justified and the lightly serif font and appropriate spacing between lines makes it easy to read, though with up to ninety characters per line, my eye is often uncertain where the next line starts. A blank line separates chapters. When words are split across lines (rarely), an odd-looking upper hyphen is used, which looks even odder when used as a dash, sometimes followed (surely unnecessarily) by a comma. Line numbers are in the left margin; in the right margin are Bekker's page numbers, with a vertical line in the text marking the

exact page-break. The first two levels of quotation are marked by guillemets « » then double curly quotes " ", but a third level is distinguished only by an initial capital rather than, perhaps, singly curly quotes. There is often a large amount of blank space between the text and the *apparatus*. To T's credit, I have not found a single typographical error in the Greek.

T perhaps overly respects the manuscripts. Chapter titles are not included within the Greek text because, as he says, not all manuscripts have them, none has a complete set, and no manuscript agrees with another. This sentiment is laudable but I find 721 continuous pages of Greek marked up only by numbers very daunting. In some chapters – e. g. 256, p. 412 – 431 – I resorted to pencilling the chapter number on each page. Inclusion of chapter titles would not have interfered with line numbering, which is by chapter, and a running header would have been even more reader-friendly. I would also have preferred each section of a chapter to start on a new line.

T's respect for the manuscripts extends to not correcting obvious errors: at 197.18 his text faithfully follows all the manuscripts (and Pseudo-Symeon) in saying that Julius Caesar was eighty-five years old when assassinated; as T notes, both Fabrot and Becker corrected this to fifty-six, and I think T could have followed suit, with an appropriate 'scripsi' note in the *apparatus*, as he has done, e. g., at 203.6.

The triple *apparatus* includes, at the start of each chapter, a list of manuscript witnesses and a precise synopsis of K's sources, and then, page by page, variant readings in the manuscripts. The *apparatus fontium* has to cope with a rare degree of complexity: in ch. 255, for example, K copies George the Monk (= GM) who quotes Theodoret who quotes the Bible. T easily unveils such multiple layers: he first gives proximate sources, which K appears to have copied verbatim or nearly so, followed (after 'cf.') by passages with similar wording; an asterisk precedes remote sources; quotations are indicated *ad locum*. T's system also copes with overlapping parallels in multiple sources, of which the first listed is deemed the most likely (T says he did not include *loci similes* but this distinction is not always clear). T's *apparatus fontium* is a formidable achievement.

What Bekker's edition (395.2 – 23) presents as a single quotation from Jer. 19 is in fact six non-contiguous quotations from Jer. 18, 19 and 24 strung together in pairs separated by 'and'. T (255.249 – 269) puts quotation marks around each pair and gives the precise references, revealing how the Bible was mined by GM, K's source here (though T does not show that some verses are abridged). K retains his source's errors: at K 255.185 – 192 (GM 397.3 – 10), a passage attributed to Malachi is from Amos, and two others attributed to Isaiah are from Jeremiah. Further use of the *apparatus* may reveal if K ever corrects such errors.

Importantly, T's analysis reveals how many threads are woven into K's narrative tapestry, a much more complex composition than his verbatim Skylitzes had allowed us to imagine. To give just one example: chs 173.21–183.43, which introduce into the chronicle tradition an outline of ancient Greek philosophers, are a copy of Hippolytus' *Philosophoumena* that is heavily abridged through omission, yet from the *apparatus* we learn that it is interwoven with material for which our only source is the *Suda*, and that at 181.10–16 K quotes several more lines from Plato's *Laws* than does Hippolytus. Prompted by a 'cf.', I found that K (182.6–13) gives additional examples of Aristotles' nine accidents. T has thus laid the foundation for a much more nuanced study of how K used his sources. Even at the micro-level, the view that K was 'scarcely more than a copyist' seems no longer tenable; and K's overall synthesis is unquestionably original.

In such a massive work there will, inevitably, be some slips and oversights – at ch. 301, Ps.-Sym. 83v, '10–25' should be 7–25; at 255.303 the reference to Micah 4:2 should be 5:2, but it should really be to Mt 2:6, where the passage from Micah is quoted with K's wording. I remain puzzled by some other decisions. T attributes 186.1–23 (on the Maccabees) to GM, but does not mention 2 Macc. 5–7, from which the passage is drawn. At 193.6–9 (Herod's plundering of David's tomb), T cites Pseudo-Symeon and Symeon Logothete as proximate sources and GM as the remote source, but does not mention Josephus' *Antiquitates* 16.7.1, whose wording is closely followed. Hippolytus is K's proximate source for a quotation at 181.20–21 ('Zeus, great in heaven, driving a winged chariot'), but the remote sources given are the unlikely Plutarch and Lucian (wrongly cited in the *Index Fontium* as K 181.21–22), with no mention of Plato himself (*Phaedrus* 246e).

These queries, and my earlier quibbles about layout, pale in comparison with T's enormous contribution to Byzantine scholarship. He richly deserves our congratulations and gratitude.

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Erich Trapp (ed.), Lexikon zur byzantinischen Gräzität besonders des 9.–12. Jahrhunderts. 8. Faszikel (ταριχευτικῶς–ὤχρωμα). *Veröffentlichungen zur Byzanzfor-*

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schung, 6/8. Wien, Verlag der Österreischen Akademie der Wissenschaften 2017. 318 S. ISBN 978-3-700-17996-2.

Less than 25 years after the publication of the first volume (1994 – 2017), one major enterprise of Byzantine studies has been brought to a triumphant conclusion. The *Lexikon zur Byzantinischen Gräzität* (*LBG*) has just published its last fascicle, no. 8, covering the greater part of the letter Τ, and the letters Υ, Φ, Χ, Ψ and Ω. The work is the result of a long and fruitful collaboration between the Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften and the Universität Bonn, led by Professor Erich Trapp and seconded by a large group of collaborators. The full editorial history of the *LBG* is as follows:

Band 1: *Α–Κ*
 Faszikel 1: *Α–ἀργυροζώμιον*, Wien 1994
 Faszikel 2: *ἀργυροθώραξ–δυσαύχενος*, Wien 1996
 Faszikel 3: *δυσαφής–ζωόσοφος*, Wien 1999
 Faszikel 4: *ζωοσταγής–κώφευσις*, Wien 2001
Band 2: *Λ–Ω*
 Faszikel 5: *Λ–παλιάνθρωπος*, Wien 2005
 Faszikel 6: *παλιγγενεσία–προσπελαγίζω*, Wien 2007
 Faszikel 7: προσπέλασις–ταριχευτικός, Wien 2011
 Faszikel 8: ταριχευτικῶς–ὤχρωμα, Wien 2017

In parallel, the work is also available online, through the site of the *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae* (http://stephanus.tlg.uci.edu/lbg). Throughout its production, the *LBG* has remained consistent to its aims, methodology and structure. These have already been described several times, both by the editor himself (e. g. Einführung of Fasc. 1 of the *LBG*), and by reviewers of previous volumes.[11] In brief, the *LBG* is not a self-standing dictionary of Byzantine Greek, but aims mainly to cover the lexical material (words, forms, senses and attestations) not included in other major Greek lexicographical works, such as *LSJ*, Sophocles and Lampe. Its focus is the Middle Byzantine period (9th to 12th c.), but with excursion both into Late Antiquity (mainly through data excerpted

11 See for example D. R. Reinsch, *BZ* 89 (1996) 497 – 500; Ch. Tzitzilis, *Hellenika* 46 (1996) 189 – 192, 50 (2000) 403 – 405; G. S. Henrich, *BZ* 91 (1998) 590 – 595, 93 (2000) 656 – 658, 96 (2003) 327 – 329, 100 (2007) 226 – 228; Th. Antonopoulou, *Byzantion* 70 (2000) 331 – 332; A. Rhoby, *JÖB* 57 (2007) 1 – 16, 62 (2012) 111 – 118; I. Manolessou, *Byzantinoslavica* 71 (2013), 378 – 383, and more recently M. Zellmann-Rohrer, *Bryn Mawr Classical Review* 2017.11.41 (http://bmcr.brynmawr.edu/2017/2017 – 11 – 41.html).

from papyri, inscriptions and glossaries) and into the Late Byzantine period (mainly through vernacular material not yet included in the uncompleted lexicon of KRIARAS). Each *LBG* entry provides the following information: headword in bold (without details as to part-of-speech), translation in German, list of attestations in chronological order, and cross-references to other entries within the *LBG* or in other dictionaries which may provide additional information.

The first thing that needs to be said is that the editor and his collaborators should be admired and congratulated for their "Durchhaltevermögen", as TRAPP puts it himself in the work's Nachwort! The *LBG* has appeared consistently every second or third year over its long editorial life, missing the originally planned finishing date (2011, as stated in the Einführung of Fasc. 1) by only a few years. Scholars working in a number of domains (mainly Byzantine Studies but also Classical, Medieval and Modern Greek Studies as well as Linguistics) now possess an invaluable reference tool, which offers a wealth of information not otherwise (easily) available.

One of the strongest points of the *LBG* is its very wide corpus of data, thanks to which it is possible to find rare and early attestations of both known and unknown words, forms and senses (for example, fasc. 8 lists the first attestations of common Modern Greek words such as τελειώνω, φίνος, χαρτί, τελώνιο, χιόνι, χαλάω, τσαμπί, ψοφάω etc.). In this sense, the *LBG* cannot be superseded even by the *TLG*, which has yet to cover a great part of Byzantine literature. However, as the *TLG* is constantly updated, it will become necessary to enrich the *LBG* with addenda in the future; hopefully, the electronic edition of the dictionary, connected to the *TLG* site, will render this an easy task. Another, equally important, or perhaps more important, contribution, is that it provides interpretation/translation for a very large part of the Greek vocabulary not covered by any other lexicographical work up to now. Especially in the case of popular literature (both Late Antique and vernacular Medieval) its contribution is invaluable. Especially fasc. 7 and 8, which deal with the last letters of the alphabet, are our only relevant sources since the Dictionary of KRIARAS has not been yet completed (vol. 20 goes up to σταματῶ). Of course, it was obviously not possible to include every single new word from all recent editions of Byzantine texts. For example, some words attested in the *Life of Aesop*, version BPThSA[12] are not found in the *LBG:* φοβέριστρον, ψῶμος. The recent edition of Sachlikis[13] also contains a num-

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12 G. KARLA, Vita Aesopi. Textüberlieferung, Sprache und Edition einer frühbyzantinischen Fassung des Äsopromans. *Serta graeca*, 13. Wiesbaden 2001.

13 G. MAUROMATES / N.M. PANAGIOTAKES, Στέφανος Σαχλίκης, Τα Ποιήματα. Athens 2015.

ber of new words, such as τέρνες, τοπάκιν, τσαγκουρνίζω, τσαφαλώνω, φάλια, φουτρής. Even older editions of vernacular texts contain some words that should have been included, e.g. φούρια, χαϊριασμένος, ωσγοιόν, ώστι from Voustronios.[14]

On the down side, the strong drive of the *LBG* towards brevity and completion of publication within set chronological limits entail that information on each entry is perhaps less than one would have desired: for example, the *LBG* does not give quotations, although the context is always crucial for the comprehension of a word; nor does it provide etymologies, except in the case of words of non-Greek origin. The *LBG* invites the user to go further, following the indications it provides: read the original sources and consult the lexicographical-bibliographical cross-references.

Another issue, that has already been commented upon frequently in previous reviews of the work, is the lack of a systematic lexicographical methodology, especially in what concerns the principles of lemmatization: A single lexical item is often "divided" in two or even more entries, because it appears in the sources in various altered forms. This division is sometimes noted with a cross-reference but not always. A consistent lexicographical treatment would require to discuss within the same entry, and not in different entries, formal differentiations such as a) alterations in the phonetic shape of words, e.g. φλουρίν – φλωρίον, ψωμίν – ψουμίν, φακιόλιον – φακῶλι, ψάθα – ψάνθα, ψαθίον – ψιάθιον – ψιανθίον etc. c) merely orthographical variants or hypercorrections, e.g. ὠπτίν, φθυάρι – πτυάρι b) alteration in the gender of nouns, e.g. ὁ φράξος – τὸ φράξο, ὁ τρύγος –τὸ τρύγος, ὁ τίτουλος – τὸ τίτουλον, ὁ τάρταρος – τὸ τάρταρον, τὸ τέστον – ἡ τέστα) d) alteration in inflectional class, e.g. φιλόγυνος–φυλόγυνις, τζαγγάριος–τζαγγάρης) e) feminine forms of masculine *nomina actionis*, e.g. τερετιστής–τερετίστρια, τειχοσείστης–τειχοσείστρια, ψεύτης–ψεύτρια f) comparative and superlative grades of adverbs, e.g. ταχυτέρως–ταχυτάτως–ταχίστως–ταχιόνως–ταχίστερον. An extreme case is the verb "to go", which is split into no less than six entries: παγαίνω–πάγω–πηγαίνω–ὑπαγαίνω–ὑπηγαίνω–ὕπα (imperative). This inconsistent lemmatization causes real problems for the user; there is no justification for it, especially since in a number of lemmata the "correct" practice of subsuming all forms under the same headword has indeed been applied, e.g. φλάμμουλον (with the forms φλάμουρον, φλάμπουλον, φλάμπουρον etc.) or φίον (φίε, φέον, φέος).

14 G. Kechagioglou, Τζώρτζης (Μ)πουστρούς (Γεώργιος Βο(σ)τρ(υ)ηνός ή Βουστρώνιος), Διήγησις Κρονίκας Κύπρου. Nicosia 1997.

A special instance of the problem is the fluctuation in the spelling of words starting with the affricate [ts], since in the Medieval period this sound seems to be spelt <τζ> and not <τσ>.[15] As a result, the same word, or words belonging to the same family, present variation in the spelling in editions, and this variation is reflected in the *LBG*. A consistent choice should perhaps have been made (e.g. τζαγγίον – τσαγγόλουρο, τζίκνα – τσικνώνω).

Another lemmatization problem concerns the choice of head-word: in order to facilitate the user in finding an entry, the lexicographer should choose either the most "common/standard" form, or the less "altered" one; instead, the *LBG* often prefers the form which appears earliest in the sources consulted, even if it is not easily recognisable, e.g. Φλεβουάριος instead of Φλεβάριος or Φεβρουάριος and τέρμενον instead of τέρμινον. A related, smaller issue is the unjustifiable appearance of entries in the plural, although there is no grammatical reason to believe they would have lacked a singular, e.g. τρυγητάδες. More problematic is the word for "pistachio nut", which has its own entry as πιστάκιν, but also appears in three additional *pluralia tantum* lemmata as φιτάκια–φιστούκια–φουστούκια.

On a smaller scale, a number of lemmata involve errors in the reconstruction of the nominative singular, due to mistaken assumptions as to the inflectional patterns of Medieval Greek. For example, the acc. pl. τετραδοπαρασκευάδας does not belong to an unattested nominative τετραδοπαρασκευάς, but to τετραδοπαρασκευή, which has a plural τετραδοπαρασκευάδες. Another example is the non-existent form φιλίστορος, reconstructed on the basis of the dat. pl. τοῖς φιλιστόροις – the entry should instead read φιλίστορας; similarly, the plural τζαγρατόροι has given birth to the ghost form τζαγρατόρος, instead of being subsumed under the correct ὁ τζαγράτωρ > τζαγράτορας.[16] In the same vein, the plural τροφήματα does not go back to a singular τὸ τρόφημα but τὸ τρόφιμον, as in Modern Greek.[17] A problematic case of "ghost-words" involves the non existent demonstrative pronoun τεῦτος: This grammatical item is reconstructed on the basis of two forms, τευτάδους and τευτέ, appearing in an edition of medieval documents from Sicily[18] and has been included in the dictionaries of CA-

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15 See e.g. S. PSALTES, Grammatik der byzantinischen Chroniken. Göttingen 1913, § 250.

16 See G.N. CHATZIDAKES, Μεσαιωνικὰ καὶ Νέα Ἑλληνικά, vol. 2. Athens 1907, 3–4.

17 For the origin and inflection of nouns in -ιμον see G.N. CHATZIDAKES, Γλωσσολογικαὶ Ἔρευναι Α΄. Athens 1930, 164–179.

18 A. GUILLOU, Les actes grecs de S. Maria di Messina: Enquête sur les populations reques d'Italie du sud et de Sicile (11e – 14e s.), Vol. 1–2. Palermo 1963.

racausi[19] and Rohlfs.[20] However, as Kambylis has demonstrated many years ago, in fact these two forms are a misreading by Guillou of the abbreviated nouns πραμματευτάδες and πραμματευταί.[21]

Now that it has been completed, it will perhaps be possible to incorporate the various corrections and suggestions by previous reviewers in the electronic edition of the *LBG*, as the editor promises in his Nachwort. So the work never stops …

Of course, all these remarks in no way diminish the overall worth of this monumental lexicographical work, which has become an indispensable reference tool for anyone interested in any phase of the Greek language and its literature. The year 2017 also saw the publication of new volumes from two more major Greek lexicographical projects, vol. 20 of Kriaras and vol. 6 of the *Historical Dictionary of the Academy of Athens*. Let us hope that they too will prove as productive and as successful as the *LBG!*

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19 G. Caracausi, Lessico greco della Sicilia e dell'Italia meridionale (secoli X–XIV). Palermo 1990.

20 G. Rohlfs, Lexicon Graecanicum Italiae inferioris: Etymologisches Wörterbuch der Unteritalienischen Gräzität. Tübingen 1964.

21 A. Kambylis, Zur Sprache einer mittelgriechischen Urkunde aus Sizilien. *Glotta* 45 (1967) 221–232.

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